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ABSTRACT

The document traces the development of education in Japan from the 17th century to the present. It is presented in four chapters. Chapter one discusses the Tokugawa Period (1603-1867). Principal forms of schooling were hanko for the Samurai class and terakoya for the commoners. The hanko were established for the benefit of the fiefs: objectives of the terakoya schools were basic literacy and numeracy. Chapter two focuses on the period 1868-1885 which concentrated on westernization, industrialization, and national independence. Universal education, human resources development, and institutions of higher education were established during this period. Chapter three examines the period from 1885 to 1920. The modernization of politics and industry, crystalization of a national morality, promotion of technical education, and development of social education occurred during this time. Chapter four traces developments from 1920 to the present, including the time of reconstruction after World War II. Decentralization has characterized education in postwar Japan. Compulsory education has been extended, education for women improved, and special education developed. Japan now seeks to attract more people of ability to the teaching profession. Appendices provide enrollment and school statistics. (KC)

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MODERNIZATION OF EDUCATION
IN JAPAN

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
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NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF
EDUCATION

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TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

October, 1978

No. 17

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FOREWORD

The original of this report was prepared and submitted to the World Bank upon its request. NIER is very appreciative of the financial support given by the World Bank for the completion of the report.

Upon receipt of the request, a special committee headed by Dr. Masunori Hiratsuka, who was Director General of NIER at that time, was formed within NIER in order to honour the request. The report describes fairly concretely and precisely how education has contributed to what Japan is today. I am very grateful to Dr. Hiratsuka and the committee members for their excellent work, and the list of their names is appended at the end of this report.

Now I consider it a great pleasure and privilege for NIER to publish this report in its Research Bulletin. I sincerely hope that the report will prove to be useful to everyone who is concerned with the advancement of education and national development.

Hiroshi Kida
Director General

MODERNIZATION OF EDUCATION IN JAPAN

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INTRODUCTION

SPECIAL FEATURES OF THE MODERNIZATION OF JAPANESE EDUCATION

1. Education has played a vital role in the social and economic development of the country during the last century from the beginning of the modernization of the country until the present day and, in particular, in the miraculous recovery since 1945. In the process of this development, the Meiji Period from 1868 to 1912 was of special importance. What made it possible for modern education to develop so rapidly in the Meiji Period? We must consider its historical background. The following conditions favoured such a development:

* The people had always been keen to absorb culture from abroad in ancient times from countries on the Asian continent and later from other countries including those in Western Europe;
* There was a fairly high level of cultural maturity and education was disseminated among the people generally under the Pax Tokugawana which lasted for 250 years; and
* Conditions favoured the establishment under a unified national administration of an education system using Japanese as the medium of instruction.

2. The group responsible for the Meiji Restoration and the subsequent modernization of Japan made national autonomy and international cooperation national political goals. With respect to educational policy, they carefully investigated modern educational systems in Western countries and then tried to introduce those features suited to conditions in Japan. At one level, they emphasized universal education, that is to say, a nation-wide, single-track system of primary schooling and teacher training. They tried to modernize the content and methods of national education and used it for the intellectual modernization of the Japanese people. They then tried to expand secondary education, making the secondary schools a reservoir of human resources for the new nation. All this spread a utilitarian view of school education among the people in general and led to the rapid development of school education paid for by private individuals and local governments. At another level, the Meiji leadership radically modernized higher education, establishing a modern university and several colleges. They made efforts to absorb modern learning and technology by inviting foreign teachers, despatching Japanese students abroad and appointing them to high positions on their return. In this way, they aimed not only to catch up with the advanced countries but also to expand higher education by using Japanese professors who would teach in Japanese.

3. The modernization of education in Japan was directed by the national government, which issued the Imperial Rescript on Education of 1890 laying down the basic principles of school education and national ideology. These principles remained operative until 1945. The government also put into effect uniform laws and regulations on the school system, the aims and content of

education, standards of educational facilities, and teacher training. By this means education was modernized, an effective structure of educational administration was set up, and modern school education rapidly expanded. Thus modern education, influenced by nationalism, effectively performed the function of raising educational standards throughout the country, and making them more uniform and more equal. At the same time, however, the centralized control of education tended to disregard local needs and to suppress the freedom of individual teachers and schools. Furthermore, it should be noted that this educational system was obliged to yield to the ultra-nationalism of the 1930's.

4. To finance education, a system of national government subsidies and cost-sharing was established, but it was not properly institutionalized until the 1880's. The government then took a series of measures to advance modern education, including a subsidy for vocational education to meet the needs of the industrial revolution (from 1884), supplements to teachers' salaries on the basis of seniority to attract talent to the teaching profession (from 1896), a system of subsidies from the national government for compulsory education with a view to supporting local governments in their efforts to maintain and promote education in their own areas (from 1918), and in the 1920's, large-scale investment for the development of higher education.

5. The usefulness of schools as a means of raising the intellectual and technical level of the people was recognized and utilized to the fullest extent. It is not going too far to say that the modernization of education in this country was achieved chiefly through the expansion and improvement of schooling. This applies also to the reform and advancement of education after the Second World War. The utility of schools was proved by Japanese experience in the process of the modernization of education. It should be noted, however, that this later inflated popular expectations of schooling, resulting in drastic competition for entrance to schools of higher reputation and the actual distortion of school education. It also restricted choice of schooling and made the system rigid. We are now trying to overcome these defınciencies.

With these points in mind, we shall describe the historical process of the modernization of education in Japan, stage by stage.

SUMMARY

1. Education has played a vital role in the social and economic development of this country during the century from the beginning of the process of modernization until the present day, and particularly in the miraculous recovery of the country from defeat in the Second World War. How was Japanese education modernized, and what kind of social effects did its modernization engender?

2. Japanese education did not suddenly reach its present high level. The ancient cultural heritage and the absorption of elements of the advanced cultures of such close neighbours as China and Korea, but more especially social stability during the Tokugawa Period (1603-1867), the development of culture due to the educational policies of the Bakufu, and the expansion of education in

Japan during that time provide a historical background to this process.

3. Education in the Tokugawa Period developed in two forms. On the one hand, hanko for the samurai class and terakoya for commoners provided education on the basis of the social class system. On the other hand, private academies equivalent to schools of secondary and higher education developed, and they were open to all, regardless of class, and here the level of learning was gradually raised through contact with western learning, though it was restricted because of the policy of keeping the country closed. In these ways, the educational and cultural heritage of the Tokugawa period formed the foundation for the development of education from the Meiji period on.

4. Another special feature is personal development within the community. Such factors as induction into family traditions, as well as ethical and technical training for young people within the agricultural village community, the apprenticeship system for towns-people, and training in discipline and proper behaviour on the part of samurai towards the lord and the head of the house played a particularly important role in forming class morality. These factors led to the development of theories which promoted an agrarian code, ethics for townspeople, Bushido, and, in the second half of the 18th Century, an ethical movement called "Shingaku". These theories were absorbed into popular thinking in support of the modernization of Meiji Japan.

5. The Meiji Restoration was an epoch-making event in the process of the modernization of the country and of Japanese education. It was a natural consequence of two forces: external pressure from the Western powers which forced Japan to open its doors, and internal pressure exerted by various groups, acting in unison and centering on lower-ranking samurai, which were trying to overcome the contradictions of the feudal system of the Tokugawa Government.

6. The Meiji Restoration was carried out with the following goals: "civilization and enlightenment" (westernization), "development of industry" (industrialization), and "enrichment of the country and strengthening of the army" (national independence). These goals were also made the driving force of the modernization of education.

7. The Education Order of 1872, based on western models, set out an ambitious school system which was intended to expand education for the general public and to introduce into Japan on a large scale the advanced learning and technology of the West. However, the economic and financial foundations of the country were weak and the proposed content of education was rather impractical under the conditions of the time. Therefore, the Education Order could not be fully implemented, and in the 1880's a compromise was effected to modernize the education system while meeting actual conditions. Efforts were made to maintain a minimum standard of education, while various measures were taken to develop the basis of capitalism, despite many difficult problems, both internal and external.

8. Under the universal education system, a primary school system of the ladder type, which was in principle common to everybody, was established. As for the content of education, the principle of using the mother tongue as the medium of instruction was adopted and the instructional methods of modern school subjects as in Western schools were introduced. The policy of stressing the ability and scholastic achievements of school children was adopted. It was made the responsibility of parents to send their children to school, but the national government did not provide any funds for the construction of school buildings. School finances depended largely on funds from local governments, levies on people living in the school district, and tuition fees. The central government paid great attention to the spread of primary education and took various measures to compel parents to send their children to school. However, the general standard of living of the people was not high enough at that time, and this was clearly reflected in the low rate of school enrolment.

9. The government naturally paid great attention to the training and supply of teachers who were a basic factor in the modernization of education. It established normal schools even before the modern school system was set up. The government exerted great efforts in bringing normal school teachers from America and introduced modern instructional methods, educational materials and equipment, also providing in-service training in these new developments.

10. From an early stage, the development of secondary education diverged from that of primary education. The policy of modernization through westernization naturally stressed education provided in western languages. The government took steps to set up some schools of western learning and also recognized as regular secondary schools those which provided education in foreign languages. Middle schools (Boys' high schools) which used Japanese as a medium of instruction were not officially recognized as regular secondary schools. Private (voluntary) academies, traceable to the Tokugawa period, prospered at this time as institutions of secondary education. Female secondary education was affected by the lack of institutions for the education of women during the Tokugawa period, but its importance was gradually realized and secondary schools for women were established. Nevertheless, opportunities for women to receive education were still extremely limited in comparison with those for men. Secondary education as a whole was run as a dual system in contrast to primary education, which was single-track and open to all.

11. Higher education was developed in response to the idea that a prime condition for the modernization of Japan was the absorption of advanced learning, technologies and systems of organization from the West. The establishment of Tokyo University in 1882 was one indication of this. At the same time, ministries other than the Ministry of Education also set up institutions of technical training, but these were gradually integrated into Tokyo University. In the early stages, the university and the government invited foreign teachers, spending a great deal of money in the process, and despatched many

students to study in advanced countries. In this way, efforts were made to introduce modern learning, technology, culture and various methods of organization, with the result that a foundation was gradually built up for the establishment of independent systems of higher education and academic research in Japan.

12. The establishment of the Imperial Constitution of 1889 and the first session of the Imperial Diet in 1890 promoted the modernization of politics and a system of constitutional monarchy in Japan. Along with this, government administrative structures, both central and local, were strengthened, and industry was gradually modernized, centering on light industries such as spinning. In keeping with this, the school system was improved in the 1890's and the basic framework of modern education in Japan was constructed.

13. The fact that the Imperial Rescript on Education was issued at this time is an indication of the government's intention to fix a moral code for the Japanese people, to be the foundation of the nation's structure. This Rescript continued to exert a great influence for some fifty years.

14. Primary education was made compulsory for a period of four years (in exceptional cases three years) by the Primary School Ordinance of 1886. It was mandatory for municipal governments to construct primary school buildings in sufficient numbers to accommodate all children of school age. In 1900 the period of compulsory education was fixed uniformly at four years and it was decided not to collect tuition fees. The rate of enrolment in primary schools rose, exceeding 99% in 1920.

15. The objectives of primary school education were fixed by the Primary School Ordinance of 1890:

> Article I. Primary schools are designed to give children the rudiments of moral education and of education specially adapted to make of them good members of the community, together with such general knowledge and skill as are necessary for practical life, - due attention being paid to their bodily development.

This statement remained in effect for the next 50 years. It provided a basis for improving the contents of teaching subjects, accompanied by closer scrutiny of the contents of textbooks. In 1903 this developed into the system of national textbooks for primary schools, edited by the government and printed by private companies.

16. In line with the progress of the modernization of industry, vocational education became more important after the 1890's. Since a high level of technology was not required at this early stage, only elementary agricultural schools and schools for apprentices were established, providing courses of one to three years duration after primary school. In the second half of the 1890's, however, demand for skilled manpower increased in various fields of industry due to the full-scale progress of the industrial revolution. Consequently, great efforts were made to produce technicians for various industries by establishing a system of vocational education at the secondary level in 1899,

and then in 1903 a system of specialized colleges at the level of higher education.

17. The expansion of primary school education necessitated the improvement of general education at the secondary level. In 1899 the "Middle School" Ordinance and the Girls' High School Ordinance were issued. In this way, a secondary school system of three tracks (middle school, girls' high school and vocational school) was created. This system continued down to the time of educational reform immediately after the Second World War.

18. Increased enrolment in primary schools at this time caused a serious shortage of teachers, which became chronic despite various counter-measures. Under the terms of the Teacher Education Ordinance of 1897, it was determined that at least one normal school should be established in each prefecture. In addition, in 1907 when the period of compulsory education was extended, the government tried to overcome the shortage of teachers by making it possible for middle school or girls' high school graduates to become teachers after one or two years of training at normal school.

19. Despite improvements, some reorganization to increase the efficiency of the school system became necessary. In particular, demands from the general public for shortening the duration of schooling became very strong towards the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, although the issue was not resolved because of the existence of strong counter-arguments by those who feared the lowering of academic standards at universities. At the same time, secondary and higher education was continuing to expand and an increasing number of colleges which were institutions of higher education were seeking university status as they improved their courses.

20 In 1917 the government set up a Special Council on Education as an advisory body attached to the Cabinet. Its task was to review problems of the education system as a whole, including the issues mentioned above. The government carried out the following reforms in accordance with the recommendations made by the council:

* Public and private universities were permitted to be established in addition to Imperial Universities;

* The length of schooling was shortened by establishing seven year higher schools (middle school division of four years and higher school division of three years);

* A national subsidy system was created for compulsory education.

By these means the education system was further improved.

21. At this time the importance of social education was recognized. Youth education was institutionalized, education for farmers was promoted through agricultural associations, and many public libraries were built where such services as guidance to readers were increasingly offered.

22. By about 1920 the modern school education system was almost fully formed. During the 1920's and 1930's, movements characteristic of the international aspirations for peace and democracy that arose after the First World War were reflected in Japanese education. A limited number of new private schools following the principles of the international movement for a new more liberal education was established. In art education, a movement that included free composition developed to promote self-expression by school children.

23. At this time also civics was introduced into boys' middle and normal schools, and into the vocational supplementary schools. This aimed at training boys to become good citizens of the constitutional self-governing state, since the growing demand for the extension of political rights showed that the time was ripe for universal manhood suffrage. Strangely enough, pressure for general disarmament coincided with the efforts of serving army officers to strengthen military training for boys in secondary schools and at institutions of higher education.

24. It should be noted that, from the latter half of the 1920's, secondary education or supplementary education of equivalent standard was so far expanded that it had become in effect universal. Along with this, the activities of organizations for youth, children and women were expanded, providing opportunities for out-of-school education. With the inauguration of radio broadcasting, various programmes were offered for foreign language learning, the development of general culture, and physical education. In these ways informal education was expanded remarkably.

25. From about 1930 on, however, forces completely opposed to democratic tendencies rapidly gathered strength. The national policy of militaristic expansion, promoted chiefly by the armed forces, led Japanese education into a dark period of ultranationalism. An ideology inspired by faith in the national gods penetrated school education and gradually dominated it. Education and academic research of a liberal and democratic nature was restricted, while education suited to a military state expanded. Almost all opposition to the establishment, whether writings, ideas or activities, was crushed.

In these dark times, there was not a little resistance in the world of education, and some efforts to democratize education were made by progressive scholars and teachers. However, the general trend could not be halted and the country headed for the catastrophe of the summer of 1945.

26. From the end of the Second World War until 1952, Japan was under the occupation of the Allied Forces. The reconstruction of the country from the devastation of war was attempted with international assistance, particularly from the United States, and by the unflagging determination of the people. Japan concentrated her energy on achieving the basic goal of regeneration as a peaceful and democratic nation. The educational reform of postwar Japan was carried out with this goal in mind.

27. The postwar education reform began by eliminating the influence of wartime militaristic ultra-nationalism from education. To this end, various measures were taken, such as purges of undesirable teaching staff, a complete ban on military training, and the elimination or revision of inappropriate material in courses and textbooks.

28. The establishment of a thorough-going democratic system of education was a prerequisite for the reconstruction of the country. This new system was influenced in all its aspects by the recommendations for the reform of Japanese education made by the Education Commission to Japan, composed of American education experts, who came to Japan in March 1946. A central policy committee for education reform was formed in August 1946, with Japanese experts who had cooperated with the Education Commission as its principal members. Postwar education was reformed in accordance with the deliberations of this committee.

29. In this thorough-going reform, three aspects were of prime importance:

* Opportunities for education were further equalized by extending the period of compulsory education from six years to nine. This was done through the adoption of the 6-3-3 school system, which had been the subject of discussion since it was first proposed in the 1930s.

* School curricula and teaching methods were changed to place great emphasis on school, teacher and pupil autonomy, in accordance with the Fundamental Law of Education promulgated in March 1947. It was laid down in this law that the aims of education should be based on the spirit of peace and democracy. The national textbook system was abolished, and ideas of the new education which had been current between 1920 and 1930 were widely adopted in school education.

* Educational administration was reformed. The uniform and centralized control system previously in operation was altered by establishing boards of education first in each prefecture and then in each municipality. Thus attempts were made to decentralize educational administration, and a system of educational administration requiring the general cooperation of the central Ministry of Education and local boards of education was adopted.

30. Reforms were carried out in many other aspects of education over and above these basic changes. This does not mean that all these changes were effected without difficulty. Nevertheless, the Japanese people on the whole welcomed these changes, realizing that the reform was essential if their country was to be reconstructed as a peaceful and democratic nation with a rich culture. Thus the way was prepared for the future progress of the country through the democratization and further modernization of education.

31. The postwar reform of Japanese education has been carried

out in a favourable international climate and with the active support of the people, who have earnestly desired peace and democracy. However, a review of the past thirty years shows that too much emphasis has been given to the quantitative expansion of education and to superficial solutions, while relatively speaking the qualitative improvement of education has been neglected. Overcoming these deficiencies is a task for the future. To achieve this, various measures based on the principle of lifelong education must be put into practice.

CHAPTER 1 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO THE MODERNIZATION OF JAPANESE EDUCATION

1. AN INTRODUCTION TO THE PRESENT CONDITION OF JAPANESE EDUCATION

The Miracle of a Country in Asia

Japan is a mountainous country at the eastern edge of the Asian continent. Arable land makes up only 20% of its total area, and there are very few other natural resources except water. The remarkable recovery which this country has made from the almost complete devastation suffered during the Second World War might be considered a miracle. Today Japan attracts international attention as a leading power among the advanced industrial nations.

Among the various factors which have made this possible, two are specially noteworthy. The population of more than 110 million Japanese, industrious as always, are now mostly highly trained and well educated. In addition, out of the bitter experience of the Second World War has come a national determination to construct a peaceful country with a rich culture.

The Present Standard of Education

In terms of the standard of education, this country is now numbered as one of the most advanced nations in the world. As of 1975, the enrolment ratio was 38.4% for higher education and 92.0% for upper secondary education, while at the level of compulsory education, from 6 to 15 years, the ratio was 99% for lower secondary education and almost 100% for primary education. The ratio of five-year old children receiving preschool education was 86.3% in 1974 including both those at kindergarten and nursery school.

In parallel with such wide-spread school education, various activities under the heading of social education, which has hitherto been regarded as of rather secondary importance, are now being actively pursued, in conformity with the idea of lifelong education as proposed by Unesco. This kind of education has been extended to young people both at school and at work, as well as adults in general, including parents, who are responsible for family education. In addition, education provided within industrial enterprises, which has a history of its own, has been given a new place in the whole scheme of education, and great efforts are being made now in this field.

2. CULTURE AND EDUCATION IN ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL TIMES

Continuity from Early Times in Efforts to Develop Culture

As we have seen, Japan today is a country in which education is widespread and a high standard of culture is maintained. However, one is reminded of the proverb "Rome was not built in a day."

The emphasis on education in Japanese society and the tradition of esteem for learning and culture did not simply originate in the Meiji Period (from 1868 onwards), when this country began to take the road to modernization. Although less strong than in the Meiji Period and afterwards, such traditional attitudes had in fact been characteristic of the Japanese people as far back as the first century A.D., when sophisticated cultural contact began to be made with China and Korea across the sea.

Cultural Influences from Near Neighbours

From earliest times until the present day, Japan has produced its unique culture by gladly absorbing various aspects of foreign cultures and assimilating them to its own cultural conditions. This has been affected by the relative racial homogeneity of the Japanese people and by Japan's location off the edge of the eastern part of the Asian continent near China and Korea, which were flourishing civilizations from ancient times. For instance, Chinese characters, which are an integral part of the Japanese language, are used in this country in much the same as was in China. In addition, however, by simplifying these characters, Japan's own syllabary, called Kana, was developed. Confucianism, which originated in China, was brought to Japan in the third century, and Buddhism, which originated in India, was introduced in the sixth century. Since then they have been combined with or have existed alongside Shinto ideas rooted in the life and customs unique to the Japanese people. In these ways they have deeply influenced the spiritual life and culture of the people, while maintaining special values of their own. With these cultural elements, by the latter half of the tenth century, a lady named Murasaki Shikibu(1) was able to write a long novel of outstanding maturity, entitled The Tale of Genji, describing the court life of that era. The level of education, at least among the people at court, was very high. Later, the Jesuit priest Francis Xavier, who came to Japan in the middle of the sixteenth century, sent a report to the headquarters of the Society in which he expressed his admiration for the discipline, respect for honour and willingness to learn of the Japanese people whom he observed at that time.

Thus Japanese culture was not simply hastily copied from the West since the Meiji Period. It developed within the East-Asian cultural sphere, and benefitted from the influence of China and Korea for almost two thousand years preceding the Meiji Period.

3. THE SOCIETY AND CULTURE OF TOKUGAWA JAPAN

Pax Tokugawana

Although the flourishing state of culture and education in presentday Japan can be traced back as far as ancient times, the factors directly responsible for this state of affairs appeared mainly under the government of the Tokugawa Bakufu, covering the period of more than 260 years from 1603 to 1868.

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(1) In 1966 Unesco recognized Murasaki Shikibu as a great figure of world-wide importance.

Emerging victorious from the armed struggles which had frequently occurred among the feudal lords from the second half of the fourteenth century, the Tokugawa family established within the country a centralized structure of feudal government and a clearly stratified social class system. To maintain internal order, the government implemented strict regulations to keep the country closed to the outside world. This resulted in a society maintained in peace, without serious armed conflict, for some 250 years.

National Unity under the Feudal System

The country was divided into about 200 territories under local feudal lords, and nearly one-third of the total land was in the hands of the Tokugawa Bakufu. Under strong Bakufu control, national unity was developed politically and economically. Of course, this political and economic unity was further assisted by a common language and racial background, as well as a common religious outlook formed from an amalgam of Shinto and Buddhist ideas. In order to maintain the stability of the Tokugawa government, a social class system was created which divided the people into four classes, samurai, farmers, artisans and merchants, with the samurai class at the top of the system. A social order based on vertical class relationships thus came into being. However, this class system was not as rigid as the caste system in India. Although limited in scope, social mobility and interaction between different social classes did in fact take place from the 18th century onwards, as the merchant class became economically more powerful and rich farmers began to appear.

Cultural Effects of the Closure of the Country

For the 220 years from 1639, when the feudal structure was firmly established, until 1858, when the commercial treaty with America was concluded, no Japanese person was permitted to go abroad, while visits by foreigners were restricted. Only the official missions despatched by Korea at the time of the accession of a new Shogun were received, as a diplomatic courtesy. Foreign trade was also under strict control, Dutch and Chinese vessels only being allowed to put in at a designated port (Nagasaki). The policy of closing the country, expressed through bans on the propagation of Christianity, was intended to maintain the stability of the feudal structure by preventing invasion by foreign countries.

This policy caused Japan to fall behind foreign countries, particularly European countries, as they advanced culturally. On the other hand, during this period the country accumulated the potential energy indispensable for national development after the beginning of the Meiji Period. Japan's unique cultural values and ethical consciousness were fermented in the assimilation of elements of previously imported foreign cultures to Japan's own cultural traditions.

4. SPECIAL FEATURES OF EDUCATION IN TOKUGAWA JAPAN

The special features of education in the Tokugawa Period may be summarized as follows:

(1) Education Based on the Social Class System

The institutions, content and method of education differed according to social class. In principle, education for the samurai class was different from that provided for the commoner classes, made up of farmers, artisans and merchants. Separate types of education were also provided for different occupations and ranks, as well as social classes. In the second half of the Tokugawa Period, however, opportunities for education were made widely available to young people, regardless of social class, who wanted to study. Shijuku (private academies) providing such educational opportunities flourished remarkably.

(2) Development of School Education

Great developments were seen in organized education, especially from the 18th century onwards, in the form of such types of schools as: hanko (fief schools), mainly for children and young men of samurai family, which is to say the ruling class; terakoya, which provided elementary education for children of farmers and townspeople (2), gōkō, to some extent independent and with a degree of public purpose, which catered especially to the families of farmers of high standing; and private academies, established by individual scholars. In all these schools, the practice of making a clear distinction between the sexes as well as between the social classes was quite noticeable. Girls were not admitted, except in the case of terakoya and some shijuku.

(3) Education Through Popular Associations

Although school education was expanded, it did not yet include all the educational activities undertaken in society. In each social class, efforts were made to foster the personal development of children in terms of customary ways of living, occupational skills and social morality, within the framework of the family and local community associations. Educational activities were also widely conducted by such popular religious institutions as Buddhist temples and Sect Shinto organizations, as well as by supporters of Confucianism and National Learning. Along with these activities, various schools of popular ethics were systematized, notably Bushido for samurai. stressing loyalty and respect for honour, and Hotokukyo(3) and

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(2) Artisans and merchants lived for the most part in cities, so that were called "chonin" (townspeople).

(3) Hotokukyo was an education movement promoted by Ninomiya Sontoku (1787-1856), a practical leader who overcame poverty in agricultural villages towards the end of the Tokugawa Period by encouraging such ethical principles as hard work, frugality and voluntary service, as well as by rational management. It was revived during the period of the 1920s and the 1930s as a guiding principle in the movement to improve agricultural villages.

Sekimon-shingaku(4) for the populace at large, emphasizing hard work and frugality. Together, these had a greater impact on the personal development of a large number of people than did school education.

A brief but more concrete description of the conditions of education in the Edo Period follows.

5. PRINCIPAL FORMS OF SCHOOLING - HANKO AND TERAKOYA

Hanko: Fief Schools for Samurai

In the middle of the 17th century, the Bakufu and various fiefs began to establish fief schools which they ran for the education of young people of samurai family in their respective territories, but it was not until the latter half of the 18th century that these schools became widespread. At that time the financial conditions of fiefs were deteriorating because of the transformation of an agriculturally-based economy into one based on commerce, and fear of invasion of Asian countries by Western countries was growing stronger. Fief schools were widely established as an effective means of countering these threats to the feudal structure of the Tokugawa Period. They had two objectives. One was to revitalize moral education in order to check the weakening of Bushido which had occurred during the long period of internal peace. The other was to produce the technocrats needed for implementing the policy of "Enriching the country and strengthening the army", intended to restore political and economic control to the fiefs. Since fief schools were established for the benefit of the fiefs, their students were limited to samurai families attached to a particular fief, and all the expenses necessary for their establishment and maintenance were covered by the fief budget.

Singnificance of Confucian Education

Confucian education amounted to instruction in Neo-Confucian ideas justifying the principle of the feudal order. When in the 19th century education in such new types of scholarship as Western Learning and National Learning became necessary, it was generally provided in schools different from those already established. To all intents and purposes, fief school education in its proper sense continued to be limited to Confucianism. Although the content of education at fief schools remained confined to the same old Confucianism, the fact that they did exert a considerable influence upon the intellectual atmosphere surrounding young people of samurai family in the latter part of the Tokugawa Period cannot be overlooked. It was the achievement of education at fief schools that almost all samurai were trained to develop their language ability and many of them were trained to increase their general intellectual curiosity. One of their major legacies to post-Tokugawa Japan was the supply of a considerable number of outstanding young samurai aware of their responsibility to lead and trained in academic studies.

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(4) Sekimon-shingaku, developed by Ishida Baigan (1685-1744) following the development of commerce, was a social education movement which provided a philosophy of life for townspeople and farmers. It taught ethical codes systematized by Baigan, who drew on Confucianism and Buddhism, and was particularly for townspeople.

Terakoya: Schools for Commoners

Terakoya as schools for commoners corresponded to fief schools for the samurai class. Their origin can be traced back to about the 11th century, when reading and writing were taught to children of commoner families by Buddhist priests, who constituted almost the only educated group at that time. From about the 17th century, as domestic commerce and industry progressed, it became necessary for the great majority of commoners to be literate. Consequently the place for education was shifted from Buddhist temples to the secular world, and terakoya were set up as schools specially for the commoner classes. Teachers and managers at these terakoya were such people as rōnin (unattached samurai), priests and commoners, who had a high degree of literacy. They taught reading and writing to chidren of the neighbourhood, in return receiving tuition fees. The content of education at terakoya was confined to instruction in basic literacy and numeracy, which was necessary for commoners living in the feudal society of that time. First, the Japanese syllabary and such Chinese characters as were frequently used in daily life were taught. Then followed ōraimono (a kind of textbook), compiled in the form of letters by anonymous teachers at terakoya on the basis of their many years of teaching experience.

Spread of Literacy among Commoners

From the 18th century onwards, terakoya were set up throught the country, not only in cities but also in agricultural villages. Although not a great deal is known, it is thought the about 20% of commoners throughout the country were more or less literate at the end of Tokugawa Period, and that most of them had been taught at terakoya. From this time also the culture of the townspeople in the three big cities of Osaka, Edo (present-day Tokyo) and Kyoto, came to the fore, surpassing that of the samurai to represent the culture of Japan in the Tokugawa Period. This would have been impossible had education provided at such places as terakoya and private academies not raised the educational standard of the common people. Although the content of this education went no further than was necessary to meet the immediate daily needs of commoners in this feudally-structured society, the fact that common people themselves had set up schools on a very wide scale in the form of terakoya was one of the essential factors making it possible for public education to expand rapidly after the Meiji Restoration.

6 NEW KINDS OF SCHOOLS

Development of Private Academies

In addition to the fief schools and terakoya mentioned above, in the latter part of the Tokugawa period new types of educational institution came into being within the feudal structure, later transcending the restrictions of that system. Called shijuku and goko, they demonstrated the possibility of organizing new kinds of education. Shijuku was the general name given to educational institutions set up in the private homes of scholars. At many of these academies teachers and students lived together, and education was imparted in a very close personal relationship. There were a variety of such academies, among them academies for Chinese Classics, for National Learning, and for Western Learning, although most were for Chinese Classics since Confucianism was then at its most influential. In the latter half of the 18th century, however, the number of academies teaching such new studies as National Learning and Western Learning began to increase, reflecting the weakening of the feudal structure of government. Differing from fief schools and terakoya, these private academies could offer instruction in National Learning and Western Learning because they were not under the direct control of the Bakufu and fief governments. Every Confucian scholar ran his own private academy to train disciples. In the end, the level of academic studies in Tokugawa Japan was maintained chiefly by private academies, regardless of the type of learning.

Academic Interaction beyond the Social Class System

One of the most remarkable features of private academies was that, unlike fief schools and terakoya, they provided opportunities without class restriction to young people willing to study. In the Tokugawa Period, scholars and priests were traditionally outside the social class system composed of the four basic ranks (samurai, farmers, artisans and merchants). Consequently, scholars could come not only from samurai families but also from those of towns people and farmers. It must also be noted that, while education at a private academy was greatly influenced by the individual teacher, students moved fairly freely from one academy to another. In most cases, enthusiastic students did not simply stay at one academy, but, on the recommendation of their teachers, went on to schools run by other scholars in order to deepen their studies. Such travel for purposes of study extended over the whole country, with students not only moving from one academy to another within the same persuasion, but also studying different schools of thought. A nationwide network was thus formed within the world of learning, resembling the nationwide business market for commodities. The functioning of these private academies created an intellectual world relatively free of the social class system and the feudal system of decentralized government.

Appearance of a New Type of School: Gōkō

As internal conflicts within the Tokugawa feudal structure intensified in the 19th century, a new type of educational institution was created - the gōkō. Established by independent farmers under the direction of the Bakufu and fief governments, it was intended to maintain and promote the social order in agricultural villages. Such schools were run by the village community under a system of joint management, and were affected to a greater or lesser degree by the public authority of the Bakufu or the fief government. A gōkō was not a private institution but a common facility for the villagers, and thus differed from both the terakoya and the private academy. It was also different from the fief school, in that it was an educational institution for farmers. The content of education at gōkō was generally of a higher standard than that of terakoya, and elementary Confucian teaching materials stressing the maintenance of the feudal order were used in many cases.

Public Nature of Gōkō

While village officials were principally responsible for setting up and maintaining gōkō, Bakufu and fief government authorities controlled the establishment and management of these schools, providing assistance in such ways as giving money to cover part of their costs, sending teachers, and supplying teaching materials. To begin with, these schools were often set up at the initiative of government authorities to make upper class farmers well disposed to the Bakufu and fief governments. However, around the time of the Meiji Restoration, considerable social change was taking place. Caught between the oppression of the government authorities and the resistance of lower class farmers, many rich farmers (village officials) took the initiative in setting up gōkō in an effort to improve the social order in their community. Thus, more than ever before, gōkō became public in nature and locally autonomous. Products of the contradictions of the feudal structure of the Tokugawa Period, gōkō did not flourish nearly as well as other institutions of education. Even so, the educational functions of the gōkō and their role in society had a direct bearing on the system of public education established in the Meiji Period.

7. PERSONAL DEVELOPMENT WITHIN THE COMMUNITY

Non-School Education

Thus school education was not the only educational contribution made by Tokugawa society to the modernization of Japan from the Meiji Period onwards. Although limited by the framework of the feudal structure, the people in their daily life did attempt to improve themselves in ways appropriate to their social class and occupation. Under new social conditions, some of the qualities thus fostered became valuable during the course of the rapid modernization of the country from the beginning of the Meiji Period on. Thus school education formed only one part of the education carried out within society as a whole, specifically that part centering on culture expressed in the written word. Fundamentally, education in its broadest sense was provided within the daily life of the family community and within such wider communities as villages and associations.

Personal Development within the Family Community

In each social class, except in the lowest ranks of society, extended families operating as communities of family members of different generations and other relatives prevailed. Within this framework, families passed on as traditions handed down from older to younger generations the rules, attitudes and values appropriate to their particular social status, occupation and family line. The authority of the family head was absolute, and it was his duty to mold the younger generations into the family by seeing that they understood the family traditions and also that they maintained the family honour.

Personal Development within the Agricultural Village Community

The essential tasks of education were performed by villages and associations, in close collaboration with families. In agricultural villages, different strata - landlords (very rich farmers), independent cultivators (the main body of farmers), and tenant farmers (farmers holding only a small amount of land, and landless cultivators) - were emerging, but the nucleus of the village community consisted of landlords and independent cultivators. Within this community framework, young children and unmarried young people were organized into "Kodomogumi" (children's associations) and "Wakamonogumi" (youth associations) respectively. In children's associations, they were trained to become aware of themselves as future members of their community by participating in festivals, which were the most important events in village life, when they were assigned a definite role. This awareness was also fostered by playing with other children of the neighbourhood.

The most important period in the training of young people came when they joined the "Wakamonogumi". In general, they engaged in work within their families by day and at night slept at "Wakamonoyado" (young people's dormitories), which were separate for males and females. There they spent time together under the guidance of older "Yado-oya" (dormity parents) who were selected by the village council (an official organization of community members). They studied the history and customs of their community, and agricultural techniques. In these ways they were trained to become good farmers and worthy members of the village community.

Personal Development within the Urban Community

With the agricultural community as a model, a similar network of community relations was organized among townspeople and among samurai. In the former case, a system of apprenticeship, involving personal relations almost as strong as family ties, operated for merchants and artisans, which went far beyond a contract for employment. While apprentices offered their labour services, they received training in the skills, customs, manners and moral values appropriate to their particular occupation. When they were considered qualified, after given a period of apprenticeship, they were allowed to become independent and to set up branch houses of their masters' establishments. In actual fact, this arrangement was also reflected in the close pupil-teacher relationship operating in the fields of learning and culture. Just as in those days private academies maintained the level of scholarship, so the apprenticeship system made possible the transmission and improvement of skills and techniques for commerce and trades of various kinds. In the case of samurai, there was a reciprocal relationship in which the lord provided material support for his retainers and his retainers served him with absolute loyalty. At the same time, associations and groups were formed mainly among middle and lower ranking samurai. Through such relationships, training in duty and a sense of pride in being a samurai was given to the children and young people of samurai family. They learned, through experience in their daily life at home and in the community as well as at places of military training, a code of conduct stressing respect for honour and faithfulness in the performance of duties - namely "Bushido".

From Closed Community to Open Community

Mainly because of the social class system, personal development was fostered generally speaking within the context of each social class and each village community through communal life. In the second half of the Tokugawa Period, however, some degree of interaction began to take place between the different classes and between people from different localities. For example, between different classes: daughters of upper class townspeople stayed in samurai houses for a certain period of time to learn etiquette and household skills; also sons of rich farmers who ran breweries and textile manufacturies stayed at merchants' houses in order to learn commercial skills and business ways. As an instance of the interaction of the geographical kind, samurai and scholars travelled to different parts of the country to advance their learning and military skills, thanks to the development of a nationwide transportation network and the establishment of economic systems based on money. Among commoners, visits to famous temples and shrines as well as sightseeing trips were becoming popular. These offered not only recreational activities but valuable opportunities to exchange ideas from different parts of the country and so to learn about other worlds, new skills and new products, and so on. In these ways, from the latter part of the Edo Period on, the possibility was becoming greater and greater of the general populace receiving a common experience in personal development throughout the country beyond their local communities.

Efforts to develop theories of personal improvement based on systematic consideration of everyday activities resulted in the appearance of such ways of thought and behaviour as Bushido, Sekimon Shingaku, which taught a moral code for townspeople, and Hotokukyu, which provided a better way for farmers to live. Moreover, devotees of particular temples and shrines organized many religious associations (kō). With the social changes that took place from the begining of the 19th century onwards, new religious movements also emerged, born of Shrine Shinto and some sects of popular Buddhism.

These provided various opportunities for training and education, as well as helping to spread such moral qualities as group solidarity, industriousness, frugality, and devotion to one's work. These were then transmitted to the people of Meiji who supported their country's modernization.

CHAPTER 2 THE MODERNIZATION OF EDUCATION: TAKE-OFF 1868-1885

1. PROCESSES OF THE MODERNIZATION OF EDUCATION

Collapse of the Pax Tokugawana Peace

From the beginning of the 19th century, the Western powers, America, Great Britain, France and Russia, approached one after another with the demand that Japan open its doors, as part of their efforts to colonize or subordinate the countries of Asia. The invasion of the area around Tongking Bay by the French East Indian Ocean Fleet in 1853 was one such attempt. However, the policy of keeping Japan closed was one of the conditions essential to the maintenance of the Pax Tokugawana, so that abandoning this policy was a matter of critical importance for the survival of the political structure of the Tokugawa government itself. In addition, as mentioned in the preceding chapter, difficulties within the Bakufu-fief structure as established in the 17th century were becoming acute because of subsequent social progress, and especially the development of agriculture, commerce, and industry. The difficulty of maintaining a fixed policy of exclusion in the face of the military and economic power of the Western countries may be seen from the cases of China and the countries of South East Asia. However, to open the country at a time when the decaying feudal structure of the Tokugawa was experiencing many internal difficulties was to risk the independence of the Japanese people. Since, therefore, the opening of the country was unavoidable, there was no alternative but to reorganize the country's internal structure completely, enabling Japan to join the international community with its own independence intact.

Internal Upheaval and the Collapse of the Bakufu

The Japan-American Treaty of Commerce and Friendship of 1858 ended the closure of the country that had lasted for two hundred years. This event provoked complex political struggles over internal reform. Around that time, international conditions favoured Japan: the involvement of European countries in the Crimean War, the Civil War in America between North and South, the Taiping Rebellion in China, a war of independence in India (the Sepoy Rebellion), a revolutionary war in Mexico, and other events. Colonies were fighting against colonizers, who were thus unable to turn their attention to Japan. Revolutionary moves to overthrow the Tokugawa regime were now undertaken under the leadership of lower ranking samurai, who seized control of the leading fiefs in Western Japan. Eventually, in 1868, the 250-year-old Tokugawa government collapsed. A new government was formed, headed by the Emperor, previously a spiritual figurehead apart from politics, and run principally by lower ranking samurai of the south-western fiefs and revolutionary-minded court officials. This was the beginning of the Meiji Restoration.

Unprecedented Change

The Meiji Restoration was not merely a transfer of political power, but one of the greatest social transformations ever undertaken in Japan. Externally, the policy of opening the country

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which the Bakufu had been obliged to adopt was more fully implemented, and Japan joined the international community. At the same time, in order to ensure the independence of the country, it was necessary to dismantle completely traditional feudal structures and to create a new social structure by absorbing the cultural achievements and political, economic and social systems of the advanced countries in the West. Viewed in retrospect, this movement towards the modernization of the country can be regarded as a grand experiment in contact and exchange between two different cultures. The slogan "Enrich the Country, Strengthen the Army" was used to promote "Civilization and Enlightenment", "civilization" here meaning the culture, systems, technology and knowledge of Western countries. The call to enrich the country and strengthen the army was intended to secure Japanese independence from attack by the colonizing powers of the West by the absorption to the greatest possible extent of their civilization. Naturally, however, in the process of "civilizing" the country serious conflict arose with the traditions which had been built up over a period of more than a thousand years.

Beginning of Educational Modernization

The role of advance guard in promoting "Civilization and Enlightenment" was played by public education. Many Westerners were invited to Japan and efforts were made to learn from them new knowledge in every field in the pursuit of modernization, which amounted to rapid westernization of government and society. School education was considered to be the most effective instrument.

In 1871 the new Meiji government, by abolishing fiefs and establishing prefectures, assumed direct control of the whole country. Immediately it set up a Ministry of Education (Mombusho)(1) as the central agency responsible for the administration of education. The ministry began at once to establish a nationwide system of school education. In the Ministry at that time were many promising young men from lower ranking samurai families, who had studied the new Western learning despite physical danger and other difficulties towards the end of the Tokugawa Period. Impelled by a high sense of duty, they endeavoured to establish a school system, utilizing their knowledge of public education in the West. The first law concerned with Japan's modern education system, the Gakusei (Government Order on Education), was promulgated as early as September of 1872, less than one year after the establishment of the Ministry, largely through the efforts of these young men.

Promulgation of the Gakusei

The 213 articles of the Gakusei, issued over two years (1872-73), dealt comprehensively with the school system, covering education from the primary stage to higher and specialized levels. This was the beginning of the modern Japanese public education system. The Gakusei had three special features. Firstly, it clearly indicated the government's intention of doing away with the feudal institutions of education. The Preface, summarizing the ideas contained in the document, severely criticized schools of the old order, and enunciated at least two principles: that practical subjects based on advanced Western knowledge should be taught at the new schools instead of the discredited Confucian learning, and that schools should be open to people of all family backgrounds, including the nobility, samurai, farmers, artisans and merchants, as well as to women, without discrimination based on the old social class system. Secondly, it insisted that the aims and content of education be conducive to enriching and strengthening the country through individual social advancement, personal prosperity and business success. The Ministry was greatly influenced in this instance by Fukuzawa Yukichi, who argued that national independence rested on individual independence. To achieve national independence it was considered essential to liberate individuals from the cultural restrictions of the feudal structure. Finally, the international situation at that time made it imperative that education promote "Civilization and Enlightenment", so the general public was encouraged to cooperate voluntarily through such means as "cost-sharing", by which the user paid. At the same time, it was considered necessary for the central government to take strong measures to ensure the construction of school buildings.

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(1) The official translation at that time was Department of Education.

Main Points of the Gakusei

The government's policy on the establishment of a public education system emphasised both the extension of primary education among the people in general and the expansion of higher and specialized education, necessary for the absorption of the advanced science and technology of the West, inviting many foreign teachers for this purpose. The aim was to catch up with the West as quickly as possible by raising the level of knowledge among the general populace. It was planned to set up more than 50,000 schools for primary education throughout the country, one in each school district with a population of 600. All children were in principle required to attend primary school regardless of the sex of the child or the parents' occupation and social status. In order to expand primary education, the government simultaneously stressed the policy of setting up normal schools to train teachers. It was planned to set up about 250 middle schools (boys' high schools) throughout the country, in the proportion of one for 210 primary schools. In addition, it was expected that eight universities and a given number of specialized colleges of various kinds would be established throughout the country. Thus, an over-all plan was formulated for the systematic nationwide establishment of schools.

Japan's Free Choice in Educational Planning

A number of points may be made in connection with the Gakusei. The public education system adopted was based on no single model from a specific Western country. The idea of a centralized system for educational administration and school districts was adopted from France, and both the single ladder school system and ideas for the primary school curriculum were drawn from America. In such ways, Japan made its own choice of the better features of education in various countries. From the outset the Japanese language was used as the medium of instruction in general education, and particularly in primary education. Even in higher education, which at that time depended on foreign teachers, measures were taken to expedite the employment as instructors of those Japanese who had been sent abroad for study. In short, in the area of education the independence of the Japanese people was fully maintained. It was the achievement of the Meiji Restoration that it preserved Japanese autonomy, and did not allow Japan to become a colony or dependency of any of the Western powers.

Financial Difficulties

At that time, more than 80% of the total population - about 30 million - consisted of farmers, on whom commerce and small scale industry largely depended. This naturally made for some very difficult problems in systematizing modern public education. In order to make the country rich and strong, it was necessary not only to establish public education but also to introduce modern industry and to build up powerful armed forces. Furthermore, the new Meiji Government found itself in dire financial straits because it had had to accept all the debts of the former fief governments, which were virtually bankrupt, in exchange for acquiring control of the whole country through the abolition of fiefs and the establishment of prefectures.

Although the government hoped initially to implement the Gakusei in full, in the circumstances it proved impossible. The government allocated its funds for education mainly to the higher education sector. For general education, only 300,000 to 700,000 yen in total was allocated, that is to say, only 9 rin (0.009 yen) for each child of school age from 6 to 13. Therefore, almost all the expenses for the establishment and maintenance of the general education system had to be covered by common residents' funds in the municipalities and private contributions by parents. Furthermore, because of the revision of the land tax, people were also required to pay taxes as heavy as those levied under the old feudal system, so they felt the financial burden of education very keenly indeed.

The content of education and the administration of schools did not spring from the needs of people in their daily life, as was the case with the old terakoya, but rather tended to be translations and imitations of Western public education. Therefore, criticism and complaints about this "forced enlightenment" gathered force, sometimes even resulting in the destruction of school buildings. These protests formed part of a popular backlash against reforms forced by the Meiji Government.

Coming to Terms with Reality: Abolition of the Gakusei and the Education Order

The Meiji Government exercised authoritarian control in order to carry out vital restoration reforms effectively, and power was largely concentrated in the hands of bureaucrats from Satsuma han and Choshu han (in present-day Kagoshima and Yamaguchi Prefectures). Bureaucrats who were dissatisfied with such a state of affairs left the government and organized a "movement for freedom and people's rights", insisting on the establishment of a National Diet based on

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popular suffrage, in order more thoroughly to implement the aims of the Meiji Restoration. This later developed into a major anti-government movement, attracting a part of the former samurai class, rich farmers and ordinary independent farmers, who had become disappointed with the way in which the Meiji Restoration was being carried out. These changes in the political situation prompted the government to take practical measures to establish a public education system which would suit local conditions and meet the educational needs of the people. This was a response to criticisms of the uniform and compulsory way in which the Gakusei was being implemented. Thus, in 1879, the Gakusei was abolished and the Education Order was promulgated.

Content of the Education Order

The intention of the Education Order was to make a second beginning in building up a public education system that would, as far as possible, meet the expectations of local people, using the example of American democratic education systems. The hours of schooling were reduced and the rules for school attendance made less stringent. Central bureaucratic control over the public education system was weakened, and schools were set up to suit local education demands and run by members of education boards publicly selected by the people of each locality. It was also decided that teachers be employed on the basis of a free contract with the education board and representatives of local residents. School curricula were to be prepared by members of the education board and teachers meeting together, so as to bring the content of education into line with local conditions. In short, this new beginning in the modernization of education was intended to take account of actual local conditions and to play down nationwide uniformity in education, even at the risk of lowering standards for a time.

Trial and Error in Educational Development

The Education Order was a dramatic new departure, but it was completely revised at the end of 1880, after only one year. The government again strengthened its control over the public education system. Teachers and members of education boards were to be appointed by prefectural governors, who were bureaucrats appointed by the central government. Completion of the elementary course at the primary school was compulsory. Truancy and withdrawal from school at parents' convenience were to be severely dealt with. It was decided that the prefectural authorities prepare the primary school curriculum on the basis of the course of study prescribed by the Ministry of Education. The Second Education Order signalled the complete reversal of the policy contained in the First Education Order. This succession of radical changes in educational policy was one aspect of the comprehensive political and social change carried out after the Meiji Restoration. For this reason, ideas on the direction of reform continued to stir up controversy and contention both inside and outside the government. It was very difficult indeed to reach a consensus.

Controversy within the Government over the Modernization of Education

Even prior to the promulgation of the First Education Order, there was great controversy among high ranking officials of the Meiji Government over educational policy. The conservatives, principally court officials, insisted that the government return to the traditional Tokugawa policy of stressing Confucian-based moral education according to the Imperial Statement on Education issued in 1879 in the name of the Meiji Emperor; in their opinion it was vital to halt the trend towards "freedom and people's rights" and republicanism which the policy of westernization in education as revealed in the Gakusei might foster. They were opposed by a group of pragmatists, consisting mainly of bureaucrats, who approved of the educational policy of enlightenment based on the principles of the Meiji Restoration, although they also condemned the people's rights movement, and admitted the necessity of strengthening control over the contents of textbooks and the words and actions of teachers. They opposed a thorough-going revival of Confucianism, which they regarded as a reversion to the feudal order. The former group emphasized the promotion of national unity by refurbishing and strengthening the traditional value system, while the latter group insisted on creating a new national order by strengthening their own leadership in the process of Westernization, which they regarded as unavoidable.

Compromise

The advent of the movement for freedom and people's rights brought about a compromise between the two opposing groups within the government. The pragmatists strengthened control over public education to cope with the people's rights movement, but they now also began to adopt the policy of emphasizing Confucian-based moral education, as advocated by the court group, in the field of universal education. Thus, in the first half of 1880s, both pragmatic and court groups agreed on the policy of strengthening education along Confusian lines which affected every aspect of government policy for public education.

Attraction to the German Model

In the first half of the 1880's, the Meiji government was disrupted and rapidly weakened by its strenuous efforts to deal with the people's rights movement. In the process of dealing with the movement, the pragmatists consolidated their position, and began to settle on a course which would lead to the completion of the work of the Meiji Restoration. They considered that it would be more useful in the effort to modernize the country, which was thought of as underdeveloped, if they adopted as their model a particular country which resembled Japan in its political and social conditions, rather than borrowing from Western countries in general. The country adopted was not France or Great Britain, which the people's rights group looked up to as ideal models, but Germany, which was dominated by the strong authoritarianism of Prussia. Thus, from the beginning of the 1880s, began a deliberate process of selectively adopting features of German government and the learning and technology behind it.

Foundation of Capitalism and Financial Stringency in Education

It has already been mentioned that the Meiji Government started from a very weak financial base, and this situation persisted through the 1880s. However, in direct response to the inflation caused by expenditure on the War in the South West of 1877, (a rebellion of samurai of the former Kagoshima fief, led by Saigo Takamori), the government adopted a special, very tight financial policy, allowing expenditure only on the most essential purposes, while imposing heavier taxes on farmers. Under this policy, the government liquidated inefficiently-run government-operated enterprises and disposed of them to private interests. It also took steps to accumulate basic capital by investing its funds in important fields. At the same time, it wished to transform into an industrial labour force those poor farmers who had been forced by the worsening depression to give up farming and move to urban areas. It is generally agreed that this deflationary policy, maintained throughout the 1880s, marked the beginning of the formation of a capitalistic structure in the Japanese economy. At the same time, it seriously affected the early stages of the public education system.

The Second Education Order of 1880 brought to an end the provision of national subsidies for primary education and teacher training, which, although never large, had been made ever since the promulgation of the Gakusei. These expenses for education were now to be met entirely by local communities and parents. Added to the poverty of agricultural villages caused by the prevailing depression, this naturally impeded the establishment of the public education system. Primary education, which had seemed for a time to be spreading under stronger bureaucratic control, began to contract around 1883, as the depression worsened. The government then found it necessary to revise the Second Education Order, to make provision for simplified types of schooling which would at least maintain a minimum standard of public education. The Third Education Order was thus promulgated in 1885. The original plan, set out in the Gakusei, to establish a given number of institutions for higher and specialized education throughout the country was abandoned. Only a very small number of such institutions were in fact set up, mainly in Tokyo. From about 1884 or 1885, the government also took steps to concentrate in Tokyo University, established by the Ministry of Education, the training of technical specialists which had been shared by separate ministries in the discharge of their respective functions.

In short, for the period of about twenty years before 1890 when instability caused by the political and social changes of the Meiji Restoration was being overcome and the first stage of the industrial revolution was underway, the modernization of Japanese education experienced the confusion and difficulty naturally accompanying the early stages of such a movement.

2. LAUNCHING OF UNIVERSAL EDUCATION

Establishment of Primary Schools

The Gakusei of 1872 divided schools into three basic types: university, middle school (boys' high school) and primary school.

It was decided that without exception all children over six years old should enter primery school, regardless of their sex and social status. In implementing the Gakusei, the government stressed the effort to promote primary education, since it recognized the absolute necessity of raising the intellectual and technical level of the whole people in order to "civilize" society and promote the enrichment and strengthening of the country.

Circumstances in this initial period caused official recognition to be extended to various kinds of primary schools apart from the ordinary, standard primary school. Among these additional types were the girls primary school, a simplified type of village primary school, primary schools for the needy, and private primary schools. Children were to attend primary school for eight years, from the ages of six to thirteen. Ordinary primary schools were divided into two stages, the lower primary for children from 6 to 9 years of age and the upper primary for those from 10 to 13. It was officially decreed that all children, both boys and girls, should complete these two stages.

The Early Primary School Curriculum

The ordinary primary school curriculum included more than 20 subjects, among them the memorization of characters, calligraphy, arithmetic, geography, history, physics, chemistry, physiology and natural history. This revealed the determination of the scholars of Western learning involved in the preparation of the curriculum that all children should learn the basics of modern Western science. However, the difficulties involved in implementing this program led to the prescription, in 1873, of a simpler curriculum of only 9 subjects, centering on "the three R's", which was modelled on the public elementary school curriculum of San Francisco in the United States of America. This curriculum was the one widely adopted.

Establishment of a Grade System

Classroom teaching in primary schools was now to be organized around a strict system of grades. Both the lower and upper stages were divided into eight grades, with a standard study period of six months for each grade. All children coming to school for the first time were enrolled in the eighth grade, and studied all the required subjects. Every six months an examination for promotion to a higher grade was given, and those who passed were promoted. The examination was fairly strict and, in principle, those who failed twice in a row were told to leave the school. Those pupils who were outstandingly clever were given a special examination and, if they passed, were allowed to jump to the higher grade appropriate to their academic achievement. This grade system was based on the idea of individual merit, so the view which placed high priority on intellectual enlightenment pervaded even primary education.

Establishment of Primary School in Many Places

In practice, the establishment of a primary education system was regarded as the most important policy in the field of education. With the encouragement and guidance of the Ministry of

Education and the prefectural authorities and with the cooperation of municipal leaders, about 25,000 primary schools, almost equal to the present number, were set up within the short period from 1873 to 1875. A nationwide network of primary education had thus already been brought into existence by the middle of the 1870s. The great popularity of the education that had been provided at terakoya in the Tokugawa Period was one of the basic factors making such a rapid expansion possible.

There were three ways in which primary schools were set up, of which the first two were the most common.

(a) Existing terakoya with their staff and facilities could be converted into a primary school by reorganization and amalgamation.

(b) Some new primary schools were set up in parallel with existing terakoya. They were intended to play a central role in education in their area, and the terakoya were gradually converted into primary schools.

(c) All existing terakoya should be abolished and new primary schools established.

According to a survey of primary school buildings conducted in 1875, about 40% utilized buildings within temple grounds, about 33% rented private homes, and only about 18% were newly constructed. This reveals the close relation between terakoya and primary schools in actual practice.

Teachers and Textbooks

Most of the primary schools at that time consisted of one building, with only one classroom and less than 100 pupils. There were about 30,000 teachers; these were former teachers in terakoya, unemployed samurai and Buddhist or Shinto priests, who were able to read and write. They started teaching in the new primary schools, receiving in-service training for a short period in rotation. However, the government's most difficult problem, as will be explained, was to supply a large number of regular teachers able to teach properly subjects quite different from those which had been taught at terakoya. Despite the use made of the facilities and staff of existing terakoya and private academies, the difference in the education offered at terakoya and at primary schools was so great that the projected primary school curriculum had to be completely revised.

The Ministry of Education brought out many textbooks for use in primary schools by translating materials from public schools in the West. It also supplied a large number of charts for teaching arithmetic, Japanese language and other subjects, as simple materials for use at the introductory level. In addition, books written by private educators were used as primary school textbooks without any alteration in many cases. However, the contents of textbooks translated from foreign languages were far removed from the daily experience of the students, who were now for the first time learning Arabic numerals and the fact that the earth was round. The Japanese of the translations was often incomprehensible to the children. In the first half of the 1880s, the government began to revise the primary school textbooks and curriculum. Two probable motives for this have already been alluded to. One was aimed at dealing with the freedom and people's rights movement, and was thus political. The other was the desire to meet the needs of people in their daily lives, by prescribing new content based on traditional Confucianism. From the 1880s onward, the government began a limited reorganization and consolidation of teaching subjects and preparation of new teaching aids which took into account actual educational experience in Japan, thus leaving behind the period of direct translation of materials used abroad in public education.

Enforcement of Attendance

The Ministry of Education and prefectural authorities made the greatest efforts to achieve the stated aim of the Gakusei, "education for all". As soon as the Gakusei was enforced in 1873, they began to persuade and compel the general public by every means possible to send their children to the new primary schools. Directives and pamphlets explaining the significance of the new primary education were widely distributed in every prefecture. Many of them argued strongly that it would promote both private interest and the wealth and strength of the country if, freed from the discrimination of the old social class system, every Japanese should raise the level of his knowledge. In particular, the attendance of girls at school, which had been neglected thus far in school education, was now greatly encouraged. Other measures to encourage and compel school attendance included the requirements that policemen who met children not attending school during the day ask the reason, and that children attending school wear a special badge with their parents' name and address so that they could be differentiated from those not attending school. Every school was required to fly a flag showing at a glance the rate of enrolment of children in that area. When parents reported the birth of a new baby, they were told to plant tea bushes, pear trees or peach trees in their yards so that in time they could provide for the cost of their child's education. In some places, village festivals, which were a form of recreation for local people, were prohibited in order to save money, to be spent on the construction of school buildings. Schools sometimes considered grade examinations to be a good opportunity to demonstrate the effectiveness of the education that they provided, and people were invited to come to school to observe the proceedings.

A Decline in School Enrolment

In spite of these efforts, the average nominal rate of enrolment for boys and girls grew only slowly, to 28% in 1873, 41% in 1878 and 47% in 1883. Since of the children enrolled only between 60% and 70% actually attended all the time, the real attendance rate was only about 30%. Moreover, there were great differences between different localities. For instance, in the areas around Osaka and Tokyo where there were many independent farmers and productivity was high, the nominal rate of enrolment was between 60% and 70%, but in Kyushu and north-eastern Japan, areas of low productivity where there were absentee landlords and many tenant farmers, this rate was only between 20% and 30% in some cases. The rate of enrolment of girls was particularly low, reflecting old feudal attitudes of discrimination against women, and in 1883 the national average did not exceed a nominal figure of 30%. Since almost all costs of establishing and maintaining primary schools, as well as of sending children to school, had to be covered by the common funds of local people and by individual payments, it was not easy to send children to school, except for relatively wealthy samurai families and upper class farmers and merchants. In addition, the productivity of the great majority of small scale farmers was low and they depended on family labour; the schooling of their children meant a reduction in the labour available. The serious depression of the 1880s caused an actual decline in the real rate of enrolment, in spite of all the measures taken to encourage school attendance. A considerable period of time was to elapse before the goal of education for all could be reached.

The First Step Towards the Creation of a Modern National Culture

Despite many such difficulties, the primary education system established under the Gakusei of 1872 had a great impact on Japanese society. A network of modern education had at least been set up covering the whole country. Primary schools with Western style buildings were established even in villages deep in the mountains where people had hardly come in contact with outside culture. The current of new civilization was transmitted to these villages through such new primary schools. This national network of education stimulated the creation of a national culture transcending differences of social class, occupation and geographical location.

Emphasis on Teacher Training

The second initiative of the Gakusei in the establishment of universal education was the inauguration of a normal school system. Two arguments were advanced to support the absolute necessity of teacher training. Firstly, as the content and methods of school education had to be completely revised, teachers had to be trained to provide effective education in "civilization and enlightenment". Secondly, in order to supply enough teachers for the more than 25,000 primary schools established all over the country, it was essential to plan a proper programme for the training of teachers in large numbers.

Establishment of Normal Schools

In the Gakusei plans for a system of universal education, the immediate establishment of normal schools was second only to the establishment of primary schools in importance, and even before the promulgation of the law the Ministry of Education had already set up a normal school in Tokyo as a model. The Tokyo Normal School, as it was called, was intended to train new teachers in American teaching methods utilized in public education, under the direction of an American, M.M. Scott (1843-1922). All the equipment and teaching materials were imported from America. The school was also made responsible for guiding the new primary education. It made translations, compiled textbooks using American public education materials as models, prepared curricula and published handbooks for pupils and teachers in the new primary schools. This normal school really looked like the "main temple" of universal education in Japan. As soon as there were graduates from the Tokyo Normal School, the Ministry of Education opened a national normal school in each of the central cities in the university districts, starting with Osaka and Sendai. The Ministry tried to coordinate the work of these normal schools in order to make teacher training more effective and to provide guidance on what should be taught in schools in prefectures all over Japan. Each of the prefectural authorities began a programme of teacher training, and invited graduates of the national normal schools. Since it was necessary to work simultaneously on the establishment of a primary school system and on teacher training, they had to resort to a crash programme of in-service training. Teachers at existing terakoya and teachers of Chinese characters were temporarily appointed as primary school teachers and given training in the new teaching methods. They were then officially authorized to teach. However, this in-service training, of only one to three months duration, was often not sufficient to meet the needs of the modern primary school system. From 1875 or 1876 when the primary school system was almost fully established and the shortcomings of the crash programme were clear, each prefecture finally began to establish normal schools alongside this short-term programme of in-service training. By the end of the 1870s, each prefecture had established at least one or two normal schools.

Normal Schools as Model Schools

The normal schools of that time were in fact also model schools for modern education. The educational standard of the Tokyo Normal School was almost equal to that of Tokyo University, and prefectural normal schools were regarded as the highest institutions of education in their respective areas. Since normal schools were so advanced and provided models for all the other schools, their graduates were regarded as properly qualified teachers. Primary schools attached to them provided opportunities for practice-teaching and facilities for research on the improvement of educational practice. These schools, in turn, provided models for primary education in their respective prefectures. The Ministry of Education sought to improve the prefectural normal school system by promulgating an Outline of Principles for Education at Normal Schools in 1881 and General Regulations for Prefectural Normal Schools in 1883.

Training of Women Teachers

It should be noted that, when teacher training was started, attention was also paid to the training of women teachers. As we have seen, the Gakusei assured equal opportunities for education to women as well as men. The Ministry of Education therefore established a national normal school for women, to provide a model of the new education for women and to train women teachers in the skills and attitudes needed for guiding the young. Thereafter some prefectures established their own normal schools for women. Since feudal attitudes on the inferiority of women still prevailed, the total number of women teachers remained very small. However, the normal schools for women produced teachers with a vision of the future, provided kindergarten education and training, and began to conduct research on infant education; their achievements were remarkable for the time.

In-Service Training for Teachers

Although a normal school system had been established, the number of graduates constituted only a small proportion of all primary school teachers. Their significance lay in their contribution to the advancement of primary education and the improvement of the quality of teachers generally, by supplying outstanding teachers who could act as catalysts. The normal schools had another important function to perform over and above the full-time training and production of teachers. They also sought to improve the quality of teachers by systematic programmes of in-service training. The Tokyo Normal School was always open to the observation of people professionally interested in education from any part of the country. A reorganization of the school made some space available for additional students, so in 1883 systematic in-service training courses for educational leaders from all over the country were organized. Prefectural normal schools also arranged a succession of similar courses. Normal school teachers toured the primary schools in their prefectures, advising on the improvement of educational practice. After the institution of a system of official qualification for teachers in 1875, the normal schools also became responsible for administering the certification of teachers.

Beginning of Secondary Education

The Gakusei provided for the establishment of middle schools (boys' high schools), corresponding to schools at the secondary education level. The establishment of the middle school system was at first not promoted very strongly, since greatest emphasis was given to primary education and to its keystone, teacher training, in order to provide education for all. However, a number of schools of middle school type were set up. Moreover, to cater to young people eager to acquire new knowledge at this time of great social changes, various types of schools were set up privately, not unlike the numerous private academies that had appeared as of the middle of the Tokugawa Period.

Type One: Schools of Western Learning

Schools for Western studies and foreign language schools made up one type of middle school. After the Meiji Restoration the learning of Western languages became essential and many schools came into being to teach Western studies, principally language. The government established a school to teach English in each of the central cities of the university districts provided for in the Gakusei, and these were later consolidated into a single institution within the preparatory division of Tokyo University. Reflecting the localism of the old feudal order, the prefectures set up language schools and middle schools to send local people of ability to serve in the central government. In addition to these official schools, there were many more private schools established along the lines of the older private academies of Western learning. Among the largest were Keio-Gijuku and Doshisha headed by Fukuzawa Yukichi and Niijima Jo, who were both famous intellectual leaders of the early Meiji "enlightenment". Many able men subsequently prominent in the modernization of Japan received all or part of their education at these schools, some continuing on to national institutions of higher and specialized education.

Type Two: Simplified Middle Schools

Many middle schools were set up to cater for those who had completed a certain amount of primary education. They provided general education with Japanese as a medium of instruction, or training in Western languages. Most of them were of a simplified type and were not regarded as "regular middle schools". There were also both prefectural and private middle schools that endeavoured to pass on the cultural traditions of the old fief schools.

Type Three: Young Men's Associations for Study

New private academies and study associations of a flexible nature were set up in various parts of Japan to satisfy the thirst of young men for new knowledge. Many had just appeared without official recognition, so that it is difficult today to know exactly what they were like. However, it is clear that this type of school, like the other two, was a manifestation of the great enthusiasm of many young people of those days for study. Some of them functioned as branches of the freedom and people's rights movement. Generally speaking, many people in many parts of the country learned about the international situation of the time and studied political science, law, literature and even elementary natural science through institutions of this type.

Institutionalization of Boys' Middle Schools

From the beginning of the 1880s, the Ministry of Education gradually began to improve schools considered to be of secondary level. It aimed to combat the influence of the freedom and people's rights movement over young people, to institutionalize the procedure for the selection of those who should receive higher and specialized education, and to develop the future middle class leaders of the country. In 1881 the Ministry promulgated the Outline of Principles for Middle School Education, which laid down the standards to be met by boys' middle schools. Those schools unable to meet these standards were placed in the category of "miscellaneous schools" rather than classed as middle schools. Consequently from the middle of the 1880s the number of schools denominated as middle schools drastically declined throughout the country. Proper middle schools now took their place as one category within the formal school structure.

Establishment of Girls' Schools

On the declaration contained in the Gakusei that opportunities for education should be made available to women, a number of girls were enrolled in schools of approximately secondary level. However, these were separate schools for girls called Jogakko, set up because of the persistence of traditional attitudes of discrimination against women and the consequent low level of women's scholastic achievements. Even before the promulgation of the Gakusei, at the beginning of 1872 the Ministry of Education had established the Tokyo Jogakko as a national school offering education provided by foreign women teachers. Later, prefectural and private girls' schools were set up in many parts of the country. In some instances the education offered included lower level materials normally used at primary schools, but students in higher grades were taught English, social science and elementary natural science just like boys. Although their number was small, there were now girls who wanted to study in the same manner as boys; this indicates the extent of the social changes of the Meiji Restoration.

Discrimination between Men and Women in Education

The renewed influence of traditional Confucian ideas on educational policy during the 1880s caused a considerable change in education for women, a clear distinction being made between boys and girls in education at the secondary level. It was decided that the content of education for women should be limited to the skills and areas of knowledge which were properly their province and that particular emphasis should be placed on educating women to follow special feminine codes of conduct predicated on the subordination of women to men. Thus, the standards of education officially fixed for girls' schools admitted the low level of education for women that had been maintained even after the collapse of the feudal order. This view of education for women was responsible for the fact that girls' schools did not become so widespread at this time. However, good standards of education were maintained, mainly by girls' schools run by Christian missionaries from the West and schools resembling the old private academies but headed by women educators with a vision of the future.

3. INITIATING THE DEVELOPMENT OF HUMAN RESOURCES THROUGH WESTERN LEARNING

The Need to Train New Technocrats

The Meiji Restoration completely changed the meaning of the traditional concept of people useful for the fief and country. In the Tokugawa Period it meant men of virtue with knowledge of Confucianism and the Japanese Classics; it now meant technocrats equipped with the new knowledge from the West. The new Meiji Government took over all educational institutions belonging to the Bakufu, but soon abolished one of them, the main college for Confusian scholarship at Shoheizaka (in Tokyo). Only the two institutions of Western Learning, the Kaiseijo (School of Western Learning) and the Igakko (Medical School), were retained and expanded, as the South School and the East School respectively of the University.

The South and East Colleges of the University

From about 1870 on, the South School was greatly expanded and improved, employing about 20 foreign teachers from Great Britain, America, France and Germany. There were 600 to 700 students, including some who had been sent by their fiefs. Whereas formerly "Dutch Learning" had been taught by Japanese scholars under the restrictions imposed by the closed-country policy, students could now study Western sciences directly from foreign teachers. They were thus required to study Western languages as the first step in the study of Western branches of learning, so that they would be able to communicate with their teachers. Under these circumstances, until about 1876 the South School, which after 1873 was called Tokyo Kaisei Gakko, offered education centering on the teaching of Western languages, and the overall standard did not rise above that of a secondary school in the West. The East School where medical education was provided, decided in 1870 to adopt in its entirety the medical science of the German school, and in the following year it was restructured on the pattern of a German medical college, employing two doctors from Germany. In 1872 it was renamed Tokyo Medical School. Since Japanese scholars had already achieved considerable expertise in the field of medical science, educational structures for this specialized field were relatively advanced from the outset, compared to other fields of learning.

Regulations on Higher Education in the Gakusei

According to the Gakusei of 1872, the country was to be divided into eight university districts, with one university each, offering courses in physics, chemistry, law, medical science and mathematics. Under this plan, the South School which taught mainly foreign languages, was renamed the First Middle School of the First University District. However, it proved quite impossible to set up as envisaged a university whose standard of education in Western Learning would be higher than that of the South School. Consequently, in 1873, the Middle School was renamed Tokyo Kaisei Gakko, becoming a college under the regulations of the Gakusei. It was only in 1876, that the college actually began to offer specialized courses in law, chemistry and engineering to students qualified to study such subjects.

Various Institutions for Training Technocrats

In addition to Tokyo Kaisei Gakko and Tokyo Medical School, both of which came under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education, there were several institutions of higher education established by other ministries to train technocrats for their own purposes. The most outstanding of them were Kobu-Daigakko (Imperial College of Engineering), under the Ministry of Public Works, and Sapporo Nōgakko (Sapporo Agricultural School), under the Board of Colonization. These were the most advanced institutions of research and education in their fields.

Imperial College of Engineering

A full-scale industrial college was established in 1872 by the Ministry of Public Works, which was responsible for the introduction of engineering technology from the West, in order to train leaders in this technical field. Under the guidance of a young English engineer, Henry Duer, and other inspired teachers from England, this college achieved the highest standard of education in Japan, and compared to similar institutions abroad it was outstanding in the field of industrial education. From its foundation until 1886, when it was absorbed into the faculty of engineering at the Imperial University, it produced many national leaders in the engineering profession and in the industrial world.

School of Law under the Ministry of Justice

This school was established in 1872 by the Ministry of Justice, which was responsible for setting up a modern legal system in Japan, in order to train prosecutors and judges. The school sought to introduce French legal thought and practice under the direction of French legal experts, principally George H. Bousquet and Gustave E. Boissonade. The role it played was central to the introduction of a modern legal system and also to the training of legal officers. In 1884 it was transformed into Tokyo Hogakko (Tokyo Law School) under the Ministry of Education.

Sapporo Agricultural School

The Board of Colonization, which was responsible for opening up frontier lands in Hokkaido, set up a temporary school to be an institution of research and education on American methods of modern agriculture. This school was later moved from Tokyo to Sapporo, where it became a full-scale institution of specialized education in agriculture under the direction of William S. Clark, former President of Massachesetts College of Agriculture at Amherst. It not only taught agricultural techniques and trained leaders in agriculture but also, under the influence of Clark, whose firm belief in Christianity led him to emphasize character building in education, produced many outstanding national leaders in the world of thought.

Efforts to Set Up Institutions of Higher Education

The Ministry of Education established a number of institutions of higher education aimed at training people able to make use of the outstanding achievements of Western learning, science and culture, for the realization of long-term goals. Moreover, some other higher specialized institutions were set up by agencies other than the Ministry of Education, with the immediate purpose of introducing modern Western science, technology and legal systems. In a variety of undertakings, such as the railways, telecommunications, steel production and cotton spinning, technical training was also frequently provided by technical specialists from the West, without setting up schools. The government made great efforts to establish institutions of higher and specialized education to promote introduction of learning and technology from the West, because this was considered to be the most immediate and effective means of making the country rich and strong.

Employment of Foreign Teachers

The normal way for Japanese to learn about the West at that time was through foreigners in Japan, and communication was in foreign languages. Many foreign teachers were employed at institutions of higher and specialized education: during the period from 1868 to 1889, the number of foreign teachers brought to Japan reached about 2,000. As English was then the most widely studied language in Japan, more than half of the foreign teachers were English and American; the rest consisted mainly of Frenchmen, Chinese and Germans. Since these foreign teachers were regarded as guides who would help Japan to advance its civilization, they were very highly paid, even though the country was poor. For instance, the total monthly salaries paid to 72 foreign teachers by the Ministry of Education in 1875 greatly exceeded the sum total of the salaries paid to the 468 officials of the Ministry and the teachers of schools under its jurisdiction. The most highly paid individual received more than the Minister of Education.

Roles Played by Foreign Teachers

Among the first foreign teachers were some who had simply happened to come to Japan as crewmen on ships or as businessmen, so the quality of instruction they offered was not always very high, but, as Japanese students became more proficient in foreign languages, from about 1871 on the government made efforts to improve the system of higher and specialized education by issuing invitations to foreign experts. Some of those who came were outstanding men, imbued with humanism and the pioneering spirit, who devoted themselves to building up the country, which they viewed as a young Oriental nation, and Japan was fortunate to have them in her employ. Guido Herman Fridolin Verbeck (1830-1898) and David Murray (1830-1905) provided helpful guidance to the Ministry of Education in its early days. Horace Capron (1804-1885) resigned his post as Secretary of Agriculture in the Government of the United States to direct the opening-up of Hokkaido. William Elliot Griffis (1843-1928) was an influence on many young Japanese, and later did his best to introduce Japan to people living abroad. Henry Dyer (1848-1918), a leader in industrial education, and William Smith Clark, who exerted considerable influence on the character of his students, also should not be omitted. Many of these men not only transmitted achievements in learning and technology from their own countries but also taught young Japanese research methods in Western sciences and guided them in the promotion of the modernization of the country. The services they rendered should be highly appreciated.

Despatch of Students to Study Abroad

While foreign teachers were employed at home, many young Japanese were also sent to Western countries for study. Even before the general opening of the country, some young men went abroad unofficially to find out about conditions overseas and to absorb foreign culture, but the number of such students greatly increased after the Meiji Restoration. In the seven years from 1868 to 1874, more than 550 students went abroad, and the government spent almost as much in sending students overseas as it did in employing foreign teachers in Japan. Until institutions of higher and specialized education were properly established in the country, it was essential for the government to send students abroad for study, in order to master more advanced learning and science.

Roles Played by Students upon Their Return

Most students abroad worked extremely hard at their studies, motivated by a strong sense of their duty to promote the modernization of their country as well as by enthusiasm for the discovery of new knowledge. They also had to overcome language barriers and differences in culture and ways of life. Some had to give up their studies because of illness caused by overwork and failure to adjust to different living conditions, but most returned home after two or three years' study to play leading roles in the advancement of learning, science and culture. By the end of the 1880s, it was possible to provide higher and specialized education using the many fine Japanese instructors now returned from abroad.

Efforts to Ensure the Independence of the Japanese People

The policy of freely employing foreign teachers and sending large numbers of Japanese students abroad to study was considered from the beginning to be a transitional measure, aimed at achieving the ultimate goal of an established system of higher and specialized education in which Japanese instructors would teach in Japanese. Immediately after its establishment in 1871, the Ministry of Education planned the thorough-going Westernization of the East School and the South School, and revealed at the same time its intention of training people of ability equal to those trained abroad. The two additional parts of the Gakusei promulgated in 1873 provided for specialized colleges, as schools of an advanced level, with foreigners as teachers. This regulation also included a remarkable statement of intention: "This school shall be regarded as equivalent to a normal school, and it is intended that at some future date its graduates shall teach their countrymen using the Japanese language." Although at that time the differences in the level necessitated foreign teachers, it can be readily understood that this was a necessary part of the process of achieving independence in matters of higher and specialized education.

Plans for Setting Up Japan's Own Universities

This intention was clearly revealed in the plan prepared by the Ministry of Education between 1875 and 1877 for the establishment of a university at Ichikawa Konodai in Chiba Prefecture. Unlike Tokyo Kaisei Gakko, a specialized college using foreign languages as the medium of instruction, this university was intended to be a comprehensive institution which would provide education with Japanese as the principal medium of instruction. This was to be considered the "true university" for Japan. The plan remained under consideration at the Ministry of Education even after Tokyo University had been formed by the amalgamation of Tokyo Kaisei Gakko and Tokyo Medical School in 1877, but it was at length abandoned because of the financial stringency arising out of the War in the South West, which led to the amalgamation of various institutions of higher education, and because of the expansion of Tokyo University. The idea of the "true university" founded on the universal education system was gradually realized within Tokyo University, as Japanese students returned from abroad and took up teaching positions there, coming to full fruition at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Establishment of Tokyo University

In 1877 Tokyo University was established by amalgamating Tokyo Kaisei Gakko and Tokyo Medical School. At first, for a short time, the departments of law, physics and literature of the former Tokyo Kaisei Gakko and the medical department of the former Tokyo Medical School provided education independently. In 1881 an administrative body was set up, and it took control of the four departments. Thus Tokyo University became the one and only comprehensive university in Japan. A graduate research division corresponding to a graduate school had already been established in 1880.

Concentration of Functions in Tokyo University

As a direct result of the tight financial policy adopted by the government to balance its budget and build up the foundation of a capitalist economy, various national institutions of higher and specialized education were reorganized, and their functions were concentrated in Tokyo University. This concentration also enabled men of ability to be trained more efficiently, meeting the needs of the modernization of the country. In this way, Tokyo University, which had been just one of many colleges, was gradually developed into the one comprehensive university in the country. The national English schools set up in each of the central cities of the university districts were all abolished after 1877, with the exception of the Tokyo English School, which was integrated into the preparatory division of Tokyo University in 1879. Tokyo University became the Mecca of intelligent young Japanese all over the country. In 1884 the School of Law formerly under the Ministry of Justice and the College of Engineering under the Ministry of Public Works were absorbed into Tokyo University as the Faculty of Law and the new Faculty of Industrial Arts. Only three of the national institutions of higher and specialized education remained independent: Sapporo Agricultural School, Tokyo Forestry School and Komaba Agricultural School, all under the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce. In the 1890s the latter two also were integrated into the Imperial University (the successor of Tokyo University). By 1885 Tokyo University had been expanded into a comprehensive university made up of five faculties, Law and Politics, Literature, Science, Industrial Arts and Medical Science, and contained more than 1,000 students. This institution now monopolized almost all the functions of training national leaders for the process of modernizing the country.

CHAPTER 3 ESTABLISHMENT OF MODERN EDUCATION 1885-1920

1. EDUCATION AND THE MODERNIZATION OF POLITICS AND INDUSTRY

The Modernization of the Political Structure

The Japanese society was rapidly modernized through a national policy of introducing the culture, science and technology of the West following the Meiji Restoration but the political structure, based as it was on the government structure derived from an ancient legal system dating from about 700 A.D., still needed to be revised. In 1885, nineteen years after the Meiji Restoration, this structure was abolished as an outcome of the political struggle against the Satsuma-Choshu alliance, and a cabinet system was created.

The cabinet, in whose hands were now concentrated the functions of making and implementing national policy, consisted of the heads of various ministries. The Prime Minister, as head of the cabinet, was given considerable power in the government of the country. Imperial relatives and former court officials were not given positions under the cabinet system. Instead, former low-ranking samurai from the Satsuma and Choshu fiefs, who were men of real power, held the majority of cabinet positions. The cabinet thus became the central organ in modern national administration.

Regulations were drawn up to govern the structure of each ministry and it was decided that government officials were to be selected by examination, doing away with the traditional practice of patronage. Following the modernization of the administrative structure, it became particularly necessary to train able men systematically in the theory and practice of law. The main function of the Faculty of Law in the Imperial University and of various private colleges specializing in law became the training of future officials of the national and local governments.

Strengthened by the modernization of the administrative structure, the Meiji government studied the constitutions of Western countries in depth, investigating both theory and practice. Finally, with Austrian constitutional ideas in mind, it promulgated the Meiji Constitution in 1886. Japan now became a constitutional monarchy, and separation of the legislative, executive and judicial powers was institutionalized. An Imperial Diet was established, consisting of the House of Representatives and the House of Peers, the former made up of elected members and the latter mainly of peers.

Education and the Reform of the Local Government System

The modernization of the structure of government required not only radical reform at the centre but also a change in the administration of local government. The laws of 1888 governing cities, towns and villages and of 1890 governing prefectures and countries set up a system of local administration closely harnessed to the central government. Under this system, the smallest units of local administration were cities, towns and villages, which had bodies with a legal identity. Old cities, towns and villages were

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reorganized as new administrative units with limited autonomy. To make municipalities large enough to function properly, towns and villages were amalgamated between 1887 and 1890, and the number was drastically reduced from about 70,000 to 15,000. The minimum population of each village was raised from about 600 to 3,000, so that administrative and financial capacity was strengthened. Of the tasks assigned to municiapl governments by the central authority, primary education formed a major responsibility. The mayor was responsible for performing the tasks assigned, under the direction of officials of the central government, without reference to the municipal assembly.

The Modernization of Industry

By the end of the Tokugawa Period commerce had reached a fairly high stage of development and merchants dealing in grain, textiles and finance had accumulated considerable capital, which made it easier for the new Meiji Government to pursue its policy of rapid Westernization. Shipbuilding yards constructed in Yokosuka and Nagasaki by the Bakufu were taken over by the new government, which also launched government enterprises one after another in the railway business, telecommunications and maritime transportation by importing Western science and technology. Within traditional industries, the first to be modernized was textile manufacture which had already reached a high state of development; French engineers and women operators first taught the necessary technical skills to Japanese women workers at the Tomioka Spinning Mill. The modernization of industry was promoted partly to provide employment for former samurai deprived of their livelihood by the changes stemming from the Meiji Restoration. The story goes that many of the women trainees at Tomioka were from samurai families, and were sometimes even accompanied by maids.

Training courses in various kinds of technology were provided to introduce Western science and technology for the modernization of traditional industries and the development of new ones. The new technology was transmitted also by the national fairs frequently organized in the 1880s and the 1890s, in emulation of the international expositions held in Vienna and Paris. These fairs not only publicly displayed agricultural produce and manufactured products from various parts of the country, but performed an educational function in the propagation and improvement of industrial technology. The goods displayed were examined by specialists, who awarded prizes to outstanding exhibits; seminars were held and lectures were given by knowledgeable people, including those who had made the goods; and reports on the fairs, containing future plans for industrial development of the country, were published.

Development of Enterprises and the Training of Workers

In the 1880s the government encouraged the development of private enterprise by turning over government undertakings to entrepreneurs, and in the 1890s private firms rapidly expanded and multiplied in the fields of banking, railway transportation and spinning. In the areas around Tokyo and Osaka, such light industries as glass-making, match-making, and toy-making gradually developed as very small-scale private enterprises, and the need to provide some basic technical training for workers employed in these enterprises came to be recognized. Under the direction of Inoue Kowashi, who became Minister of Education in 1893, just before the Sino-Japanese War, the Regulations for Vocational Supplementary Schools and Regulations for Apprentices' Schools were promulgated, with the purpose of training workers in large numbers to meet the needs of the coming industrial revolution. These were most timely measures. The Minister set out not only to train workers but also to reorganize the whole structure of school education to train "technocrats" of different grades and meet the needs of the changing industrial structure. Drawing an analogy with the army, Inoue said, "Industrial education should be made up of three grades, so to speak, one for training generals and high-ranking officers, one for training low-ranking officers, and one for training ordinary soldiers." He created an industrial education system with three sets of institutions.

The Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese Wars raised Japan's international standing and accelerated the development of her industry. These wars helped the Japanese people to realize once again the national importance of education. In these ways, Japan's education system was rapidly improved at all levels from primary through secondary to tertiary education.

2. CRYSTALIZATION OF A NATIONAL MORALITY AND IMPROVEMENT OF THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

Crystalization of a National Morality

Moral education was the subject of a controversy that persisted through the 1870s and 1880s as already mentioned in the preceeding chapter. On one side were court chamberlains serving the Meiji Emperor, who insisted that moral education should be based on the Japanese Classics and Confucianism. Opposing them was a group of practical bureaucrats who aimed at the modernization of Japan through Western learning. The controversy was resolved by the Imperial Rescript on Education, which was issued in 1890. This was a highly significant event in the history of Japanese education. As it formed the basis of a national morality, the Rescript exerted a great influence on society and school until the end of the Second World War.

The Rescript may be divided into three parts. The first part asserted that Japan's moral code, founded on the virtues accumulated by the imperial ancestors who had governed the country without interruption from generation to generation, had been followed faithfully by the Japanese people out of a spirit of loyalty and filial piety. This "glory of the fundamental character of Our Empire" was unique. In the second part, the Japanese people were enjoined to follow a special code of conduct:

> Be filial to your parents, affectionate to your brothers and sisters; as husbands and wives be harmonious, as friends true; bear yourself in modesty and moderation; extend your benevolence to all; pursue learning and cultivate arts, and thereby develop intellectual faculties and perfect moral powers; furthermore, advance public good and promote common

> interests; always respect the Constitution and observe the laws; should emergency arise, offer yourselves courageously to the State ...

The third part presented this moral code as a teaching handed down by the ancestors of the Emperor, which the Japanese people were expected to observe. Furthermore, it was regarded as true in all places and at all times, and was to be observed by both the Emperor and his subjects.

The Rescript was drafted jointly by influential bureaucrats, who were the intellectual representatives of the Meiji Government, and by scholars in the service of the Emperor. It set out the principles of national morality to be followed by ordinary Japanese people in the Meiji Era. Its character was most strongly influenced by Confucian precepts and by ideas drawn from the Japanese Classics, although it was also affected by modern Western ideas of morality, so that it had also the nature of a universal moral code.

Copies of the Rescript and photographs of the Emperor and Empress were sent to schools and government offices all over the country, and the Rescript was read to school children and whenever people gathered for national ceremonies. Stories in textbooks for moral education were chosen and written up in conformity with the moral principles set out in the Rescript. In these ways, the Rescript on Education became the ultimate authority for the moral life of the Japanese people, a position it held until the end of the Second World War.

Further Development of the Primary and Secondary Education System

As political and industrial structures were modernized, the country's school system was also gradually improved, and by the beginning of the 20th century the primary and secondary education systems were remarkably developed. The duration of compulsory education corresponded to that of schooling at the Ordinary Primary School, which in 1890 was 3 to 4 years. In 1900 a uniform period of 4 years was fixed, extended to 6 years in 1907. For almost 40 years thereafter, the duration of compulsory education remained 6 years. Since tuition fees were not levied for compulsory education from 1900 on, the rate of enrolment rose rapidly to 90% in 1902.

The system of middle schools as institutions of general education had been established in 1886, and was developed in 1899 into a system of secondary education made up of three kinds of schools, the Middle School, the Girls' High School, and vocational schools. The new institutions of vocational education included agricultural schools, technical schools, schools of commerce, merchant marine schools, and fishery schools. Regulations setting national standards were promulgated for these schools. The expansion of secondary education became a driving force in raising the educational standards of the Japanese people and promoting the social and industrial modernization of the country.

Development of Higher Education

The expansion of secondary education led to a stronger demand for higher education, which could not be fulfilled by the Imperial University, the only university at that time. Moreover, the growing demand of industry for graduates from institutions of higher education had to be met. The government therefore decided as early as 1894 that the higher schools, which had served the function of preparing students for the university, should be converted into institutions whose principal concern would be specialized education. This measure was a little too early to bring about the desired result, but in 1903 a college system was properly established. The colleges, which were to provide specialized education for three or four years to students who had completed secondary education, rapidly developed, particularly business and technical colleges.

For a long time there was only one Imperial University, situated in Tokyo, and it was regarded as the sole institution of academic research and education at the highest level. However, resolutions in the Diet and the growing demand for higher education resulted in the establishment of a second Imperial University in Kyoto in 1897. In the following 20 years, Imperial Universities were also established in Sendai, Fukuoka and Sapporo.

Improvement of the Modern School Structure

Japan's modern school system was remarkably developed at all levels by the end of the Meiji Period. In the modern society which came into being after the Meiji Period, scholastic ability and the kind of education received was the most important factor in deciding social status. Since status came to depend on the level of schooling attained, (primary, secondary or higher), new kinds of social classes were correspondingly created. The ability of schools to facilitate social mobility stimulated people to educate their children to as high a level as possible. The demand of both parents and children for more education soon exceeded the capacity of schools to receive new students. This imbalance led to severe competition in entrance examinations, which drove prospective students to work very hard. It could be argued that the passion of the Japanese for education at as high a level as possible springs from this new social structure, in which the level of education received decides social status.

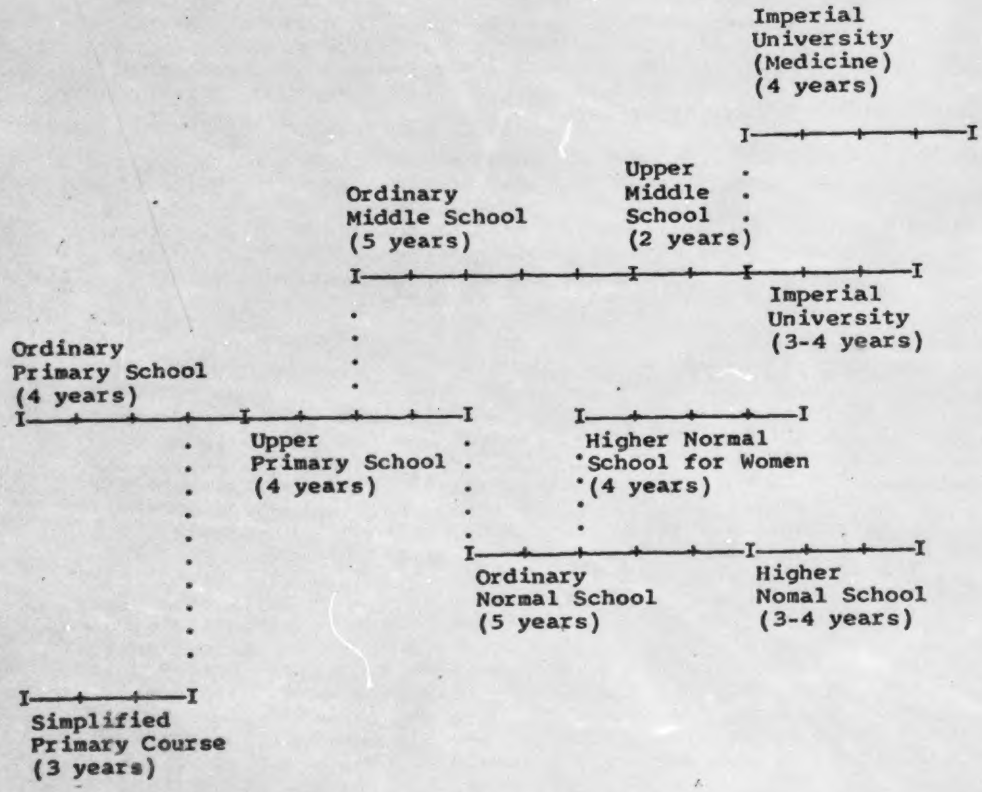
3. IMPROVEMENT AND EXPANSION OF GENERAL EDUCATION

Establishment of School Structure

The first Minister of Education in the new cabinet system, Mori Arinori, directed a thorough revision of the education system, utilizing the experience that he had acquired over many years living as a diplomat in Western countries and the educational studies that he had undertaken. The Education Order, which was a comprehensive law on education, was abolished in 1886, and Imperial Ordinances were issued on four types of schools, the Primary School, the Middle School, the Imperial University, and the Normal School. These ordinances systematically arranged schools within a single structure, as shown in Diagram 1.

DIAGRAM 1 SCHOOL STRUCTURE

IN 1886


Imperial University (Medicine) (4 years)
Upper Middle School (2 years)
Ordinary Middle School (5 years)
Imperial University (3-4 years)
Ordinary Primary School (4 years)
Upper Primary School (4 years)
Higher Normal School for Women (4 years)
Ordinary Normal School (5 years)
Higher Nomal School (3-4 years)
Simplified Primary Course (3 years)

Further Development of Compulsory Education

In the period of about 20 years from 1886 to 1907 the organizational and operational form of universal primary education was gradually established. From the beginning of the Meiji Period on, the government had given top priority to the policy for the expansion and improvement of primary schools, providing primary education to the whole Japanese people, and it followed this policy even in the latter part of the Meiji Period, improving the system, facilities, equipment, teacher-training, curriculum and textbooks for primary education.

The duration of compulsory education in 1886 was 3 to 4 years, fixed uniformly at 4 years in 1900. In 1907 it was further extended by 2 years to 6 years. Thereafter for approximately 40 years there was no change. At the beginning, much use was made of space within temples, public meeting places and temporarily remodelled private houses. However, following the establishment of the local self-government system in 1890, as municipalities improved their financial position they were made responsible for constructing sufficient school buildings to accommodate all eligible children within their areas. Because of the heavy burden that they had to bear, they were not required necessarily to construct new buildings, but architectural plans and other useful information for new school buildings were distributed, and over a period many buildings were in fact constructed. At the same time, attendance continued to be strictly enforced, and in particular steps were taken to make girls go to school, so that the rate of enrolment rose rapidly in the 1890s and the discrepancy between the enrolment rates of boys and girls diminished.

The revised Primary School Ordinance of 1900 provided that the duration of ordinary primary school education (compulsory education) should be 4 years uniformly, and in principle no tuition fees were to be levied. The principle of free compulsory education was thus established, and the rate of enrolment for compulsory education exceeded 90% in 1902.

From 1900 on, anticipating the extension of compulsory education, the government encouraged the addition of upper primary divisions to the ordinary primary schools to provide education at the two levels within the same school, and parents were persuaded to send their children on to the upper primary division. The number of children going on to this division rose to more than half of those leaving the ordinary primary schools. In 1907 the length of schooling at ordinary primary schools was increased by two years to six years, and compulsory education was similarly extended. The six-year compulsory education system became fully established, the rate of enrolment exceeding 99% in 1920; this high rate has been continuously maintained since then. This indicates that the compulsory education system has operated with strong popular support.

Content and Methods of Education

The objectives of education after 1890 were focussed on moral education, basic training in the skills and knowledge necessary to Japanese as members of a modern nation-state, and the ordinary skills and knowledge needed in daily life. These objectives determined the content and methods of education. The Imperial Rescript on Education issued in 1890 was considered the basic document for moral education, and textbooks for the subject of moral education were compiled in accordance with the moral principles laid down in the Rescript. Teachers tried to explain these moral principles to their pupils as effectively as possible.

From the beginning of the Meiji Period on, the subject to be taught and the curriculum to be followed at primary schools were prescribed for the whole country by the Ministry of Education. Particularly in the early stages, subjects and curricula used in Western countries were often adopted for use in Japan without making many of the changes necessary, so they were extremely difficult to coordinate. Gradually the teaching subjects were consolidated into a set of basic subjects, with Japanese language and arithmetic as the most important. The Primary School Ordinance of 1890 provided that the teaching subjects should be: moral education, reading, composition, calligraphy, arithmetic, physical exercises and sewing (for girls). For upper primary schools, Japanese geography, Japanese history, world geography, science, drawing, and singing, were added to these basic subjects. The Primary School Ordinance of 1900 provided that the teaching of reading, composition and calligraphy should be combined into the subject of Japanese language, and that Japanese and world geography should be combined into one subject of geography. In these ways, the number of teaching subjects gradually decreased, and increasing emphasis was given to the quality of what was taught. The teaching subjects and weekly time allocation for ordinary primary schools in 1907 are shown in TABLE 1.

So far as teaching methods were concerned, the Ministry of Education laid down a set of principles to be followed by primary school teachers.

(a) Matters concerning moral education and the education necessary to Japanese as members of a modern nation-state should be kept constantly in mind when teaching all subjects.

(b) In teaching skills and knowledge, things related to daily life should be utilized, and children should be trained through repeated practice and study, so as to be able to apply freely what they have learned.

(c) The sound physical development of children should be promoted and education appropriate to the stage of their mental and physical development should be provided.

(d) The distinctive characteristics of boys and girls should be given due attention so as to provide proper education with their future life in view.

(e) The objectives and teaching methods laid down for each subject should be carefully followed, and close relationships between different subjects should also be maintained.

TABLE 1. THE TEACHING SUBJECTS AND WEEKLY TIME ALLOCATION FOR ORDINARY PRIMARY SCHOOLS IN 1907

Grade / Subject	1	2	3	4	5	6
Moral Education	2	2	2	2	2	2
Japanese Language	10	12	14	14	10	10
Arithmetic	5	6	6	6	4	4
Japanese History					3	3
Geography						
Science					2	2
Drawing			1	1	boys 2 girls 1	boys 2 girls 1
Singing	4	4	1	1	2	2
Physical Exercise			3	3	3	3
Sewing			1	2	3	3
Handicraft						
Total	21	24	boys 27 girls 28	boys 27 girls 29	boys 28 girls 30	boys 28 girls 30

* One hour class per week for drawing was optional for the 1st and 2nd grades. One hour class for handicraft was optional for the 1st, 2nd and 3rd grades, and two classes of one hour each were optional for the 4th, 5th and 6th grades.

The Ministry of Education also clarified the principles for teaching each subject. At each school detailed teaching plans and weekly teaching reports were prepared along the lines of the courses of study prescribed by the Ministry. In these ways, the educational objectives laid down by the government were realized in classroom lessons at each primary school.

The Textbook System

The government imposed a measure of control over textbooks in 1886, when a system of approval for primary school textbooks was instituted, but at this stage approval merely meant ensuring that nothing harmful was included. The quality of the actual contents was not carefully assessed. Government control was further strengthened in 1892. The Ministry of Education was now required to determine whether textbooks were compiled in strict accordance with the official courses of study. From the textbooks authorized by the Ministry a primary school textbook examination committee composed of people involved in education in each prefecture chose which ones would be used in their schools. In 1903, a new textbook system was set up under which all primary school textbooks were to be prepared by the Ministry of Education. By this change the government was able to control the content of education more thoroughly and with greater ease, but in the long run it did not help the sound development of the power of critical thinking in the community. It is thus not surprising that the government reverted to a textbook approval system after the Second World War.

The use of textbooks prepared by the Ministry of Education in primary schools all over the country popularised standard Japanese and a style of writing based on Japanese as it was spoken. The fact that people in all parts of the country were taught how to communicate in a common language was a significant factor in bringing unity to the country and modernizing society.

Research on Teaching Methods

In the latter part of the Meiji Period the grade-class system was fully operative, and instruction normally took the form of cramming knowledge into children, teaching all children in the same class in the same way without taking individual differences into account. The five-step instructional method of the Herbartian school became popular during the 1900s, and in parts of the countryside the simplified three-step form was widely used. In addition, research on teaching methods was actively pursured, mainly in primary schools attached to normal schools.

Thorough Reform of the Normal School System

In order to expand universal primary education successfully and achieve the objective of training members of the Japanese nation, it was necessary to secure large numbers of good teachers. Mori Arinori, the Minister of Education, recognized the importance of training primary school teachers for national education, and carried out a thorough reform of the normal school system. The Normal School Ordinance of 1886 provided for ordinary normal schools for the training of primary school teachers and higher normal schools for secondary school teachers. One ordinary normal school was set up in each prefecture and a higher normal school was set up in Tokyo. Students at these normal schools were expected to exhibit the three ideal qualities of "obedience, trust and dignity". The ideal teacher would be obedient to the commands of his superiors, feel affectionate confidence in his colleagues, and strictly regulate his students' manners and attitudes.

The ordinance sought to achieve these objectives by requiring students of normal schools to follow a physical exercise programme similar to that of the armed forces and to develop a sense of group identity by living in dormitories. Although the physical exercises used had been developed partly from military training, they were not here intended to provide military reservists. They aimed rather to produce in teachers the obedience of ordinary soldiers towards military regulations, the affection and confidence in their subordinates of non-commissioned officers, and the dignified bearing of senior officers. Dormitory life was organized along the lines of a military camp, and students were expected to bear the responsibility of leadership in turn, just as non-commissioned officers led their men. In these ways, education provided at normal schools taught future teachers to be obedient to their superiors, to observe regulations faithfully, and to acquire the qualities necessary for team work and for leading their school pupils.

Privileges and Duties of Normal School Students and Graduates

Students of normal schools were entitled to a number of privileges, including full or partial exemption from military service and scholarships in the form of food, clothing and other miscellaneous expenses, in addition to free tuition. It was thus possible for a student to graduate from normal school without paying any money of his own. Students in training were exempted from regular military service. Upon graduation they were called up for six weeks of military training, when they became non-commissioned officers or privates with a little extra responsibility, receiving a certificate qualifying them for leadership in the national guard. Thereafter they were not called up again for regular military service.

Balancing these privileges, graduates of normal schools were obliged to teach for a certain period at primary schools within the prefectures in which their normal schools were located. The time set was ten years for men and five years for women. Students who had entered normal schools on the recommendation of their local mayor or equivalent were obliged on graduation to teach at primary schools within their city or country for five years in the case of men and two years in the case of women. A supply of leading teachers for each primary school was thus assured.

Characteristics of Teachers from Normal Schools

Since graduates of normal schools were exempted from regular military service and could teach at primary schools close to their homes, many farmers wanted to send their eldest sons to normal school. The high respect and trust in which teachers were held partly sprang from this circumstance. The eldest sons of upper class farmers taught in the local primary schools. As primary school teachers, people of ability in agricultural villages contributed to raising the cultural level of the communities in which they had grown up. Generally speaking, teachers from normal schools were not very flexible in their thinking about social matters, but they were honest, quiet in manner, well informed about the contents of the education they were to provide, and able to elicit the confidence of their pupils.

Assistant Teachers and Qualifying Examinations

During the Meiji Period graduates of normal schools almost always became primary school principals and leading teachers. There were many more teachers who were not normal school graduates. Most of these were graduates of upper primary schools, middle schools, or girls' high schools, who learned teaching methods by observing and listending to regular teachers, gradually improving their teaching skills. They could become properly qualified by taking a qualifying examination and many summer training courses were organized in different parts of the country to help them prepare for this, mainly by educational associations. Thus assistant teachers who acquired a certain amount of teaching experience and passed the qualifying examination were able to become regular teachers without graduating from a normal school. The number of qualified teachers rose rapidly in the 1890s, and the standard of primary school education was maintained at the desired level.

Expansion of Normal School Education

In 1897 the government abolished the provision that there should be only one normal school in each prefecture and additional normal schools were established in many prefectures to meet an increase in the number of school children. With the extension of compulsory education by two years in 1907, a second division was added to normal schools. This division was to provide one or two years of training for graduates of middle schools, to qualify them as graduates of normal schools; until that time, normal schools had provided graduates of upper primary schools with a five year teacher training course, and were regarded as institutions of secondary education. By setting up the second division, normal school education was greatly expanded, and a beginning was made on raising the status of normal schools to the equivalent of colleges of specialized education.

National Subsidies for Compulsory Education

Compulsory education was designated by the central government as a responsibility of municipal governments, and expenses were in principle met by them. However, as compulsory education came to be regarded as a means by which the national government educated members of the Japanese nation, public demand for the central government to meet this cost gradually grew stronger. This demand was also partly due to the deterioration of the financial position of municipal governments, which resulted from the long depression faced by agricultural villages. Differences in economic strength between differene localities increased, so that in some places more than 70% of annual expenditure was devoted to compulsory education. Salaries for teachers with the same qualifications came to differ greatly from place to place, and teachers often wanted to move to places where they could receive more money. Fewer teachers were prepared to devote themselves to teaching for many years at the same school.

In recognition of these problems, the national government began to provide a subsidy for compulsory education, mainly in the form of support for teachers' salaries. In 1890 the government decided that it would provide lifetime pensions to regular teachers with more than 15 years' teaching experience, after the age of 60. On the death of the recipient, family members also became eligible to receive supporting allowances, under certain conditions.

From 1892 on, demands for the government to meet the cost of compulsory education grew stronger. Teachers' organizations played a leading part in this agitation. In 1893 the government presented a bill to the National Diet for the provision of a national subsidy to augment salaries of primary school teachers on the basis of seniority, but the bill lapsed. A law along these lines was eventually enacted in 1896 as public demands for the improvement of salaries intensified. The government intended, by supplementing teachers' salaries, to prevent them from ceasing to rise after a given period of service, but by restricting eligibility to persons who had taught at the same school for more than five years it also sought to discourage teachers from moving frequently. This was a turning point in the history of education in Japan. It was the first time that national funds had been spent to supplement teachers' salaries.

In 1899 the government set up a fund to help defray the cost of universal education, using for this purpose 10 million yen from reparations paid by China after the Sino-Japanese War, thus confirming its commitment to the cause of education for national purposes. One million yen, the interest from the fund, was distributed through prefectural governments to municipal governments to subsidise the cost of facilities for universal education and to give prizes to especially hard-working pupils and teachers. In the same year, the government promulgated a law proposed by Diet members for the provision of a national subsidy to meet part of the cost of primary school education. A similar law, proposed by the government, was promulgated in the following year and provided for a national subsidy to meet part of the cost of municipal primary school education. This law of 1900 replaced those of 1896 and 1899 and enabled the government to grant a national subsidy to add special increments to teachers' salaries, in addition to the already mentioned subsidy to augment teachers' salaries on the basis of seniority. It should be noted in particular that the one million yen was distributed in proportion to the number of primary school children in the prefecture. This was considered to be the fairest way of allocating national funds.

In the 1910s, the average cost to local governments of primary school education amounted to as much as 40% of the municipal budget, imposing a great strain on local government finances. This further strengthened the demand that the national government take financial responsibility for compulsory education. These circumstances led the government to promulgate a new law providing national funds for the costs of compulsory education, following the recommendations of a special council on education. Under this law the central government assumed responsibility for compulsory education, and began to pay part of the salaries of teachers at the compulsory level directly, instead of subsidizing municipal authorities for the same purpose. The government immediately increased the salaries of teachers in ordinary primary schools in cities, towns and villages by about 16%, and disbursed more than 10 million yen each year to meet part of the cost. However, it was not until 1940 that the government paid as much as half of teachers' salaries.

Characteristics of General Education at the Secondary Level

Education provided at middle schools and girls' high schools was called "higher" general education, because it was provided at secondary level and was of high standard. This was intended to enable such secondary schools to prepare students both for immediate employment and for further studies at a higher level, thus maintaining a flexibility of purpose. These two objectives were included consistently from 1881 on in official statements on the purposes of middle schools. This led to criticism that middle school education lacked clear goals.

Secondary schools with a variety of different functions were set up in the 1890s. These schools admitted a large number of good students from primary schools. Many able students whose financial position would not have allowed them to attend were granted scholarships. The wide availability of education at these secondary schools contributed significantly to raising the general standard of education in the country.

Three Streams in Secondary Education

In 1899 three ordinances, for middle schools, girls' high schools, and vocational schools, divided secondary schools into three streams. Middle schools were to provide general education to boys at a "higher" level instead of attempting to fulfil the two purposes mentioned in the previous section. Girls' high schools were also to provide general education at a "higher" level, while vocational schools were to provide vocational training to both boys and girls. Three distinctive streams of secondary education were thus officially established. Secondary education in this form developed rapidly in Japan. Over the period of 30 years from 1890 to 1920, the number of middle school students increased 15.2 times, girls' high school students 48.5 times, and vocational school students 55.4 times, as shown in TABLE 2.

Now that each stream had its own distinct objective, the curriculum was improved, and appropriate measures were taken to promote education in each stream, so secondary education as a whole improved. As higher education developed, however, articulation between secondary and higher education became a problem. Graduates of girls' high schools and vocational schools found it very difficult to enter colleges. This was criticized as discrimination against women and as casting a slur on vocational education.

TABLE 2. SECONDARY SCHOOLS

(1) Middle Schools

Year	Number of Schools	Number of Students
1890	55	11,620
1900	194	78,315
1910	302	122,345
1920	368	177,201

(2) Girls' High Schools

Year	Number of Schools	Number of Students
1890	31	3,120
1900	52	11,984
1910	193	56,239
1920	514	151,288

(3) Vocational Schools

Year	Number of Schools	Number of Students
1890	23	2,259
1900	136	16,981
1910	477	64,739
1920	672	136,290

4. PROMOTION OF TECHNICAL EDUCATION

Beginning of Systematization of Industrial Education

Although some remarkably good schools for industrial and technical education had already been established in the 1870s, the weakness of modern industry at that time hindered their development. It was not until the industrial revolution got well under way that the importance of industrial and technical education was widely recognized. Although it was only in the twentieth century that this country experienced a full scale industrial revolution, in the latter half of the 1890s a beginning was made on establishing a system of industrial education, along lines suggested by Inoue Kowashi, Minister of Education from 1893 to 1894. His detailed studies of the relationship between industrial modernization and school systems in the West, the actual situation of industrial development in Japan, the probable future structure of industry, and the role to be played by schools in an industrial society, provided him with clear insights in initiating a system of industrial education, which was further developed by a process of trial and error.

Regulations on vocational supplementary schools were issued in 1893, followed in 1894 by a law for the provision of a national subsidy for vocational education, regulations on simplified agricultural schools and regulations on apprentices' schools. The objectives of vocational supplementary schools and apprentices' schools were to provide training for skilled workers of the future. Training of this type had hardly ever been undertaken in schools in Japan before this.

These regulations were intended to transform the traditional apprenticeship system of the Tokugawa Period into school education. The schools now set up were quite different from ordinary schools and operated in a very flexible way. Local authorities were allowed to attach them to primary schools, and lessons were given even at night and on Sundays. Primary school teachers were allowed to teach general subjects in these schools, but graduates of ordinary primary schools were allowed, if they so chose, to study only vocational subjects.

The intention of the law for the provision of a national subsidy for vocational education was to encourage local authorities to establish vocational schools, and it provided that the government would subsidize half the cost of public vocational schools for a set period. The subsidies made clear the policy of the Ministry of Education towards industrial education by promoting the establishment of apprentices' schools and technical supplementary schools in well-established industrial areas, thus putting the Ministry's national plan into effect.

The Vocational School Ordinance and Vocational Schools

Vocational education rapidly developed in all parts of the country from 1895 onwards, so it became necessary to reorganize the various kinds of vocational schools into a system. In 1899 a new Vocational School Ordinance was issued, in accordance with which technical schools, agricultural schools, schools of commerce, merchant marine schools and vocational supplemntary schools were included in the vocational school system. Apprentices' schools were regarded as a kind of technical school and were broadly divided into two types, A and B. In general terms, schools of Type A provided three year education to graduates of upper primary schools, while those of Type B provided graduates of ordinary primary schools with education for a period of two or three years. Vocational schools offered general subjects, vocational subjects and practical training, but more than half of the school hours were devoted to general subjects.

Problems in Changing the School System

Calls to change the school system were increasingly heard in the 1890s and 1900s. It had become obvious that the three stages of primary, secondary and higher education were not properly articulated and the whole process in practice took far too long. By the time students graduated from the Imperial University their average age was already nearly 30 and they were unable to bring youthful zest to their new jobs. Because, to prepare themselves for university, young men were obliged to spend many more years in study beyond what was required by the regulations. The government was under pressure to remedy these defects in the school system. These criticisms were to a large degree directed against the Imperial University. Since it stood at the top of the national education structure, over primary schools and middle schools, critics contended that its standards should not be determined without taking into account the proficiency attained at lower levels. However, boastful of its high standard of learning and heedless of the rest of the school system, the University demanded unreasonably high standards of education from lower level schools. Such demands were felt to be harmful to the development of higher education in general, and moreover forced young men in the years of their greatest vigour to spend excessive time in preparing themselves for the university. Critics of the Imperial University demanded that both the system and the content of education should be properly coordinated, and advocated the establishment of a new university system which would separate the Imperial University from the rest of the school structure and allow many other universities to be established. However, representatives of the University, who were influential in the world of education, strongly opposed these demands, insisting that there could not be other universities of different kinds with different standards of education.

In spite of the opposition of members of the Imperial University, demands for change in the school system, supported in the National Diet and by non-governmental organizations of teachers, became more and more insistent. The government began to address itself to these problems and presented to the Council on Higher Education for its consideration a plan prepared in 1902, but it was largely rejected. Only an Ordinance for Colleges of Specialized Education was issued in 1903.

Systematization of Colleges of Specialized Education

Colleges of specialized education had been in existence in Japan for a long time, and had played an important role in the training of specialists in medicine, law, industrial technology and so on. Education at most of these colleges was mainly intended to qualify students in professional fields. Colleges of law, for example, developed to prepare students for civil service examinations, which began in 1888. According to the regulations for these examinations, graduates of private colleges in which officially approved courses in law and either political science or economics were offered were eligible to take the examinations for the higher civil service. These colleges were specially authorized by the Minister of Education to take middle school graduates for three years or more. In this way private law schools developed as institutions of specialized education closely connected with secondary education. Many colleges of medicine and industrial technology were similarly set up to provide professional qualifications.

In 1899 it become possible under certain conditions for graduates of private institutions and local public schools to receive secondary school teacher certificates without taking the qualifying examinations. Institutions which took graduates of secondary schools for three years or more and had proper teaching staff and facilities were approved as colleges. The desire to be granted such privileges stimulated colleges of specialized education to raise their standards.

Thus by the early 1900s, many new colleges had been established, but there were no official standards to regulate the content of the education they offered. The Ordinance for Colleges of Specialized Education of 1903 set certain standards for colleges and placed them within a single system as 'lower level universities', so resolving one controversy over the school system. Many new public and private colleges were approved under this ordinance, in addition to national colleges for medicine, foreign languages and fine arts. Colleges of vocational education were also set up to keep pace with the development of industry.

Special Council on Education and Changes in the System of Higher Education

In 1917 a Special Council on Education was set up as an advisory organ to the cabinet, in order to reexamine the whole situation of education in Japan. This council made recommendations on all aspects of the educational system, but the recommendations it made for changes in higher education were particularly important. These changes were put into effect by the Higher School Ordinance and the University Ordinance of 1917.

Major points in the Higher School Ordinance were:

(a) Higher schools were to be set up to provide young men with terminal general education at an appropriately high level.

(b) In addition to national schools, private institutions and local public schools were to be permitted.

(c) These schools were to provide education for a total of seven years, consisting of four years in the ordinary division and three in the upper division.

(d) The upper division was divided into two courses, literature and science.

(e) Students who had completed four years of education at middle school were able to enter the upper division.

Seven-year higher schools, modelled on the German gymnasium, the French lycee and the English public school, were intended to rationalize preparation for university and to shorten the period of schooling necessary.

The major points of the University Ordinance were:

(a) Colleges specializing in one subject were renamed faculties within a given university, and barriers between different fields of learning were to be kept to a minimum.

(b) Colleges specializing in one subject might, however, still be permitted.

(c) New faculties were added, including economics and commerce.

(d) Both publicly supported prefectural universities and private universities were permitted.

The government thus made a positive attempt to expand higher education by enabling local governments and private organizations legally to set up higher schools and universities.

Quantitative Expansion of Higher Education

The government prepared a broad plan for the expansion of institutions of higher education, which was put into operation over the next decade. TABLE 3 shows that the number of higher schools increased 4 times and their students about 3 times; the number of colleges of specialized education 1.6 times and their students 1.8 times; the number of universities about 9 times and their students about 7 times. As the number of institutions of higher education increased, far more young men received the training necessary to play a leading role in national affairs than had been possible in the Meiji Period. Large numbers of able men who had received modern higher education in the various fields of politics, public administration, industry, learning and science, and the arts became available. These men played a very important role in developing and modernizing society and industry in Japan.

5. DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL EDUCATION

Social Education for Enlightenment

In the early Meiji Period the government made strong efforts to promote the policy of 'civilization and enlightenment'. Scholars of Western learning vied with each other to produce books introducing Western culture and advocating modern views on Men and Society. In his book published in 1871, "Encouragement of Learning", the founder of Keio Gijuku University, Fukuzawa Yukichi, advocated the dignity of man and the spirit of equality. "Heaven never created one man above another nor one man below another". Leading cultural figures such as Fukuzawa Yukichi, Mori Arinori and Nishimura Shigeki established the Meirokusha (Meiji Six Society) to promote enlightenment, and this society organized regular lectures and published a

TABLE 3. EXPANSION OF HIGHER EDUCATION

(1) Higher Schools

Year	Number of Schools	Number of Students
1918	8	6,792
1929	32	20,256

(2) Colleges of Specialized Education

Year	Number of Schools	Number of Students
1918	96	49,348
1929	156	87,191

(3) Universities

Year	Number of Schools	Number of Students
1918	5	9,040
1929	46	67,555

magazine called Meiroku Zasshi, contributing significantly to the modernization of Japanese cultural life. The lifting of the ban on Christianity allowed the rapid spread of such associated movements as the freedom and people's rights movement, which agitated for the establishment of a National Diet. This movement encouraged a change in people's attitudes towards modern society.

Institutions for Youth Education

In the cities efforts at enlightenment were vigorously promoted from the 1870s on, but agricultural villages were still dominated by poverty and feudal customs. The improvement of conditions in agricultural villages and promotion of the thorough modernization of society were recognized as of basic importance, since about 80% of the population lived in rural areas at that time. Efforts were therefore made to organize the young people of agricultural villages and to make them agents of modernization in their own communities. These local organizations were called Seinenkai or Seinendan.

The young people's groups of the Tokugawa Period, called Wakamonogumi or Wakashuyado, have already been mentioned. These groups had some educational functions, since they trained young people to become good members of their communities. Out of this tradition sprang the Seinenkai, which sought to train young people in the acquisition of modern knowledge and a moral outlook, as well as encouraging appropriate ways of behaviour. In their early years, the Seinenkai organized night-time study meetings, discussion groups and joint work projects. The Russo-Japanese War was followed by a poverty more widespread than before, and agricultural villages faced extreme hardship. The overcome this crisis, the government initiated a movement for rural improvement, which aimed to strengthen local governments and to enable agricultural and fishing villages to become financially independent. Such practical activities as rationalization of farm plots, development of marginal land, improvement of agricultural techniques, betterment of farm life, road reconstruction, tree planting and encouragement to pay taxes were undertaken.

The Home Ministry, which promoted the movement, was greatly impressed by what the Seinenkai had done to assist the families of men who had gone into the armed forces during the Russo-Japanese War. After the war it planned to encourage the spread of the Seinenkai to all parts of the country, in the hope that such organizations could play a leading role in promoting the movement for rural improvement. Seinenkai, which had demonstrated a capacity to assume responsibility in the community activities of towns and villages, were formed in many parts of the country with Home Ministry assistance.

Seinenkai were expected, not simply to promote rural improvement, but also to train youths to become good community members and future leaders in local affairs through participation in the movement. Primary school principals and local government leaders gave guidance to Seinenkai and training and education were provided to members in collaboration with vocational supplementary schools.

Education for Farmers through Agricultural Associations

Agricultural associations arose from meetings in which farmers talked about ways of improving farming techniques. Even in the Tokugawa Period, leading farmers traveled widely through the country in search for better agricultural techniques, explaining what they had learned from experienced farmers elsewhere to their friends on their return. This method of passing on new ideas was quite common. Western methods were enthusiastically introduced into Japanese agriculture in the Meiji Period, and it became very important to reconcile these new ways with traditional methods and so to improve farming practice. The government made use of three means towards this end. Agricultural experimental stations conducted research to adapt Western scientific methods of agriculture to Japanese conditions; agricultural schools trained future farmers in new agricultural technology; and agricultural associations provided farmers with direct, practical guidance. From the 1890s on, the government took positive measures to modernize Japanese agriculture by helping to set up these three agencies on a national scale and by encouraging coordination and cooperation between them.

When the second national fair was held in Tokyo in 1881, the government organized a seminar on agriculture, in which experienced farmers from all over the country were invited to participate. The National Agricultural Association was formed around these participants, and the formation of local associations under its aegis was encouraged. It published a magazine for the advancement of agriculture. Local associations organized occasional meetings for members to talk about their experiences and to listen to lectures on new technology, given by specialists from agricultural experimental stations and teachers from agricultural schools. At the country and prefectural levels, associations organized a mobile teaching service which went from village to village giving advice on agricultural matters. Agricultural methods were rapidly developed and propagated in the Meiji Period through these means.

Activities of Popular Educational Associations

Popular educational associations sprang up in many parts of the country from the end of the 19th century. They tried to help parents and other residents of primary school districts to understand education better by offering lectures on education, holding exhibitions of children's work, and staging scientific experiments, illuminated shows and concerts. They also aimed to raise the intellectual and cultural standards of local people and to promote mutual understanding between parents and primary school teachers.

In the early twentieth century, the government recognized the important role played by popular education associations in social education and provided them with various kinds of assistance, including the use of school facilities. It even advised them to include some recreational activities in the educational programmes which they organized. All this was intended to make opportunities for social education widely available to residents in the school districts and also to help them to understand the working of the schools.

Establishment of Public Libraries

One important institution for popular education was the public library. Besides full-scale prefectural libraries, small libraries of only a few hundred books were set up in towns and villages from the 1910s and they contributed towards the extension of education to ordinary people. Many of these libraries were housed in a corner of the primary school or public hall and run by teachers' organizations or educational associations. A mobile library service was offered at the country level to make new books available to people even in remote areas. These libraries, open to the public, enabled people to educate themselves. This was a further way in which the modernization of Japanese society was promoted.

CHAPTER 4 RECENT DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION

1. PERIOD FROM 1920 TO 1930

The thirty years between 1890 and 1920 saw such an improvement and expansion of education provided at the various kinds of schools, that the process could justly be described as the modernization of all levels of education on a firm foundation of universal national primary education. As far as school education was concerned, Japan had caught up with the advanced nations of the West.

'New Education' Before the Second World War

John Dewey's epoch-making book "School and Society" was translated into Japanese as early as 1901, and by the second and third decades of this century international ideas on new education were exerting considerable influence on the Japanese educational world. Various schools of thought advocated self-study and the dynamic theory of education, seeking to make the school curriculum and organization more flexible. During the period from the late 1910s to the end of the 1920s, a number of private schools for the new education were set up, among them Seijo Primary School (1917), Jiyu-Gakuen - School of the Free Spirit (1921), Myojo Gakuen (1925) and Tamagawa Gakuen (1929). A fresh wind was blowing in the world of education.

Education through Free Expression

The idea of stressing children's free expression in composition was already being aired around 1900, and by 1918 literary naturalism flourished sufficiently to allow the publication of a magazine, entitled "Akai Tori" (The Red Bird). This magazine played an important role in the recognition of the educative value of composition based on the actual experience of children and on free literary expression. This educational theory aimed to free children from the traditional tasks set by public education, which allowed them to practise sentences useful in daily life while on the other hand using writing as the medium for dealing with abstract ideas. At the same time it attempted to develop children's ability to express themselves freely. However, its strong literary bent meant that this educational movement was removed from the actual living conditions of many children in poor families, and the Red Bird movement was superceded in the late 1920's by that of "Composition based on Daily Life". Children were now to be encouraged to write about their own experiences, as a way of learning to think and to write. Emphasis on free expression was not limited to literary composition, but spread also to music, art and school drama exemplified in the children's song movement and the free drawing movement at the end of the second decade of this century. From such stimuli developed a movement for education through art.

Although supporters of the new education were not able to divert the main current of national education, some of their ideas were taken into account when the national textbooks were revised in the late 1920s and early 1930s. More attention was now paid to children's psychology, teaching materials more closely related to daily life were utilized, and sentences in textbooks were made easier to understand. New elements were thus absorbed into the content and presentation of public education.

Education for Citizenship

Public pressure for the extension of voting rights increased after the First World War, and formal instruction in citizenship was launched in 1924, when vocational supplementary schools began to provide courses in this subject. In 1926 all men over the age of 25 were given the right to vote, and the first general election took place in February 1928. A new course on citizenship was now introduced into school education, with the purpose of educating the people to become good members of the constitutional and self-governing nation. This new element in education paralleled the movement for the expansion of voting rights during what historians call the period of Taisho Democracy.

In the early 1930s, middle schools, vocational schools and normal schools started to offer education for citizenship in place of law and economics. In the words of the official statement of aims, this course was to encourage students " to acquire a law-abiding spirit, to understand the principles of co-existence and co-prosperity, to develop an attitude of willingness to serve others and work cooperatively with them, and to form the basic habits necessary for membership of the constitutional self-governing nation".

Strengthening Military Training in School

In 1925 army officers on active duty were assigned to schools, thus beginning military training within educational institutions. Despite the widespread desire for international peace after the First World War, the world powers sought to reduce armaments but to maintain the balance of power and strengthen their reserve of military manpower. It was against this background that the Special Council on Education recommended the promotion of military-style physical exercise. The pressure for general disarmament caused the Japanese government to seek to foster the leadership potential of army officers and to improve the training of students as officers in reserve by sending army officers on active duty to the schools. Male students at the preparatory divisions of national and other public universities, as well as those at authorized private universities, higher schools, colleges of specialized education, middle schools and normal schools, were required to undergo training in accordance with the Infantry Operational Handbook, which laid emphasis on obedience to military regulations, an appropriately loyal attitude to the Emperor and patriotic views on national defence, in addition to instruction in strictly military matters. However, it was not until the late 1930s that military training in schools became the key to control of education by the military.

Further Expansion of Secondary Education

Reference has already been made to the expansion of opportunities for secondary and higher education after the First World War. The attached TABLE 4 shows the considerable expansion of opportunities for secondary education, equivalent supplementary education and out-of-school education from the late 1920s.

TABLE 4. INCREASE IN NUMBERS OF STUDENTS OF SECONDARY EDUCATION 1920 - 1930

(In thousands)

Year Schools	1920	1925	1930
Middle Schools	177	296	345
Girls' High Schools	151	301	369
Vocational Schools	136	212	288
Vocational Supplementary Schools	996	1,051	1,277
Upper Primary Schools	909	1,208	1,329

Development of Informal Education

Opportunities for out-of-school education expanded in the second and third decades of the century with the development, partly under government guidance, of Seinendan (youth associations), Shonendan (boys' associations) and Fujinkai (women's associations). The establishment of a central office of the Seinendan in 1916 was the first step towards organizing a national federation of the youth organizations that had already sprung up throughout the country. In 1921, a National Youth Hall was built, and three years later a National Federation of Seinendan was formed. This federation functioned as the core of the Seinendan movement as it developed on a nationwide scale. In 1925, the Japan League of Shonendan was formed, modelled on the English Boy Scout organization, and five years later a National Federation of Women's Associations was established to provide education based on the ideal of "good wives and wise mothers".

Radio broadcasting began in 1925, and radio programmes for foreign language study and sports programmes were started in the following year. In 1928 radio programmes for physical exercise commenced and immediately attracted several million active participants, playing an important role in the physical side of social education. Of course programmes of a general cultural nature were also offered.

2. PERIOD FROM 1930 TO 1945

Ultra-Nationalism and Resistance

At the beginning of the 1930s, an extreme form of nationalism began to cast its shadow over education. It grew in reaction to the democratic trends which had spread in Japan as a part of the internationalist movement after the First World War. At the same time, because of the world-wide depression which started at the end of the 1920s, Japan fell into serious economic difficulties. Under these circumstances, forces inimical to democratic tendencies rapidly gathered strength. The national policy of militaristic expansion, promoted chiefly by the armed forces, drew Japanese education into abyss of ultra-nationalism.

In 1935, the Council for Japanese Education Reform clarified the basic policy for education which gave strong backing to the ideology inspired by faith in the national gods and demanded the unification of State Shinto, militaristic government and politics, education and science, incomplete opposition to the modern idea of separating government from religion. Education and academic research of a liberal and democratic nature was restricted, and almost all opposition to the establishment was crushed, whether found in writings, ideas or activities.

These ominous developments did not go unresisted in the world of education. Some efforts to democratize education were made by progressive scholars and teachers, despite extreme pressure by the special police. In this connection, the case of Dr. T. Yanaihara should be mentioned. He was a professor of Tokyo Imperial University and one of the leading liberal figures of the time. He was unwilling to change his liberal outlook to suit the prevailing conditions so that he was forced out of his position at the university by the militaristic government, and did not regain his position until after the war. His integrity was recognized by his appointment as a postwar President of Tokyo University.

The fact should also be noted that already in the 1930s a group of progressive scholars had recognized the need to build the educational structure on a more rational basis, and had officially proposed that a new education system be established, comprised of six years of primary schooling followed by three years of lower secondary and three years of upper secondary education. This system in fact became the core of the democratization of education in the postwar period. After 1940 no moves to implement such liberal and rational ideas were possible.

The Second World War

During the war the government took measures to improve science laboratories and facilities for music and craft education as well as physical education. School health programmes were improved. It was in 1940 that the national government accepted responsibility for half the cost of compulsory education. However, it postponed the extension of compulsory education from six to eight years, though this had been under consideration since the end of the First World War and had been accepted as a policy in 1941.

Towards the end of the war, students were mobilized for the production of food and war materials. Students' privileged exemption from military service was abolished, teachers were called up, and school children were evacuated from big cities to the country-side. By 1945 the school system was almost completely paralyzed, as the country headed for the catastrophe of that summer.

3. PERIOD FROM 1945 ONWARDS

Road to Reconstruction

After the Second World War, Japan, chastened by the disastrous consequences of ultra-nationalism and impelled by the determination to strengthen democratic institutions, embarked upon a new course. In the Potsdam Declaration issued towards the end of the war, the Allied Powers stated that they expected Japan to "remove all obstacles to the revival and strengthening of democratic tendencies among the Japanese people". This statement was an encouragement to the new leaders and the general public in the days immediately after the war, and Japan gradually recovered from her almost total devastation, with a generous measure of help and guidance, particularly from the United States. This process of recovery demonstrated the strength of Japanese people, which lay in respect for education and receptivity towards more advanced foreign cultures. Under the new "anti-war" constitution, promulgated in 1946, the Japanese people were able to concentrate their energy on the reconstruction of the country and strive to establish democratic education.

Basic Goals of the Postwar Education Reform

In the opinion of the Occupation Army, the first task of the postwar reform was to eradicate wartime ultra-nationalism and militarism from the world of education so that democracy could flourish. On 22 October 1945 the authorities issued a memorandum on administrative policy regarding the Japanese education system, prohibiting the propagation of militarism and ultra-nationalistic ideology and ordering the Japanese government to abolish military training in schools. All professional military officers and teachers who had supported unacceptable ideology were purged. The State Shinto organization was dismantled and the three subjects of moral education, geography and Japanese history, which had been utilized as means of imparting unacceptable ideas, were no longer to be taught.

It was a matter of urgency to bring school education, which had been at the point of collapse, back to normal. The Japanese government made great efforts to solve such immediate problems as the return to their homes of school children who had been sent away from the big cities during the war, the repair of school buildings which had been used for military purposes, the re-employment of teachers returning from military service, and the supply of improvised textbooks. Because of the almost total devastation brought about by the bombing, it was very difficult to achieve these ends, but these problems were gradually overcome by the unflagging efforts of the Japanese people.

Before the October memorandum had been issued by the authorities, the Ministry of Education had already, on 15 September 1945, drafted a policy for the construction of a new Japan, and indicated new educational paths towards the goal of building a peaceful nation. However, the most significant influence on the democratization of postwar Japanese education were the recommendations made by the United States Education Mission to Japan which arrived in March 1946. This mission, consisting of educational specialists, among them some outstanding scholars, recommended a democratic reform of education, embracing goals, school system, administration, teachers' training and careers, adult education, higher education, and the teaching of the national language. A committee of outstanding Japanese educators was organized to work with the Education Commission, and with these people as its principal members a special committee on education reform was established in August 1946. Postwar education was reformed in accordance with the decisions of this committee.

Reform of the School System

At the end of the war, out of the total number of pupils graduating from the six-year primary school, 10% were immediately employed, 70% went on to upper primary or youth schools, and only 20% went on to schools which could be considered secondary schools by international standards. Only 4% of the appropriate age group went on to institutions of higher education, including higher schools, specialized colleges and universities. A fundamental reform was now undertaken to widen the channels of access to education at levels beyond the primary stage.

At the primary and secondary level, a 6-3-3 system, which had previously been considered but not implemented, was adopted suddenly without any phasing in. The period of compulsory education was extended from 6 years to 9. At the higher level, 454 higher schools and specialized colleges of various kinds, national, public and private, as well as 48 universities, were merged into 4-year universities (6 years for medical and dental schools) of a uniform type, combining liberal arts education and specialized training. It was intended to make equal opportunities for education available to everybody, at all levels of the school system.

The remarkable feature of this educational reform was that it was carried out within the short period of three years from April 1947 to March 1950. The extension of compulsory education at a time when both the government and the people were exhausted imposed tremendous burdens, financial and otherwise. In spite of these burdens, a complete reform of the education system was undertaken, showing the strong determination of the people to reconstruct the country through the democratization of education.

Further Modernization of Educational Aims, Content, and Methods

It was the common desire of the Japanese to build a peaceful, democratic nation with a rich culture and the objectives of education were drawn up accordingly. The fundamental Law of Education of March 1947 provided in its first article that:

> Education shall aim at a full development of personality, striving for the rearing of the people, sound in mind and body, who shall love truth and justice, esteem individual value, respect work and have a deep sense of responsibility, and be imbued with the independent spirit, as builders of a peaceful state and society.

To translate these aims into practice, the Ministry of Education requested a committee composed of educators and other specialists to prepare new courses of study, which would provide guidelines for the curriculum and teaching methods, and standards for the compilation of textbooks. The centralized controls over the content and methods of education which the Ministry of Education had exercised prior to and during the war were abolished, and school administrators and teachers were encouraged to display creativity in their work. The system by which the Ministry prepared textbooks was replaced by a system of official approval in accordance with the aims of the above-mentioned courses of study. This made it possible for schools to select their own textbooks to suit local conditions and the needs of their children.

As teachers' views about education changed, reflecting both the emphasis on an independent spirit in educational objectives and the general trend towards democratization in society, children's spontaneity and self-directed activities came to be highly valued in teaching. The ideas of the new education movement, which emphasized child-centred education and children's experience in daily life, although partially accepted in the 1920s, now found a favourable climate in which to blossom.

Partnership of Central and Local Governments in Educational Administration

Since the beginning of the Meiji Period, the Ministry of Education, as the agent of the central administration, had played the dominant part in improving the education system. The Ministry's dominance made it possible to maintain a very high level of administrative efficiency, but on the other hand also made it easy for excessive nationalistic control over education to be exercised. Thus, after the war, it was felt that the educational needs and demands of parents and local people under a democratic system of government would be more satisfactorily met by the decentralization of educational administration. In 1948 a board of education was set up in each of the prefectures and in the five big cities, and in every city, town and village in 1952, a reform of great importance in educational administration.

The prefectural or municipal board of education exercise administrative authority over school education, social education and cultural and scientific activities in accordance with the laws and regulations of the central government, receiving guidance and assistance from the Ministry of Education. It also performs the function of transmitting local demands on educational matters to the central government, for its consideration when formulating national policy. A decentralized system of educational administration has thus been implemented as a new partnership between the central and local governments.

The Spirit of Postwar Education

Postwar educational reform has been fundamental and wide-ranging, covering in particular the reform of the school system, educational administration, aims, content and methods of education. The reform was carried out at great speed, and errors and shortcomings soon necessitated adjustments and revisions to make it conform to actual conditions. However, the most significant aspect of the reform was the determined effort by the Japanese people to democratize education, further modernize the country and build a foundation for future progress. It was the enthusiasm of the Japanese people for education, built up over a long time going back at least as far as the Tokugawa Period, which made it possible for them to take advantage of favourable international conditions in the postwar years. Economic recovery had the effect of raising the educational level of the people in general.

Through the postwar years educational change has been actively pursued in the spirit of democracy. An open, democratic school system was set up, made up of six years in primary school, three years in lower secondary and three in upper secondary school, the period of compulsory education having been extended to nine years. Education for women, in the prewar period in general inferior and unsatisfactory, particularly at higher levels was now greatly improved. The traditional notion of "respect for officials and contempt for the people" was broken down. The importance of private institutions was recognized. Special education for the handicapped was developed to a remarkable degree. The teacher training system was greatly improved by raising the status of normal schools to that of universities, and efforts were also made to promote activities and improve facilities for social education. A new system of junior college providing a two or three year education was created in the 1950s. A new system of technical colleges was set up in 1961, offering five years of training, the first three years equivalent to upper secondary education, followed by a further two years of specialized technical education. In addition, a system of graduate schools was finally brought into being.

In retrospect the educational advancement in the quantative aspects thirty years since the end of the war have been overemphasised, to the neglect of quality. This is now recognized as the central problem faced by Japanese education. It is necessary to establish a democratic system of education worthy of the name by overcoming the deficiencies of formal education, particularly its excessive orientation towards preparation for entrance examinations, and it is also of prime importance to foster upstanding people able to contribute to the betterment of their communities and of the country as a whole. However, since in the final analysis, the quality of education is heavily dependent on the quality of the teachers who provide it, it is an urgent necessity to attract more people of ability to the teaching profession.

EPILOGUE

Japan since the Second World War has achieved a recovery so remarkable as to seem miraculous. This recovery was partly made possible by generous international assistance and by the hard work of the Japanese themselves. This shows what is possible when people with an education join together to work for common goals in an emergency. Of course, the policies of the Occupation Forces, the international situation in the decades after the war, and a tolerant attitude towards Japan on the part of other Asian countries, all favoured Japan's recovery. The government has pursued a basic policy of building up a nation holding culture, peace and moral principles in high respect; only a small proportion of the national budget is spent on defence, and nothing on war. These policies and the efforts made by the Japanese have enabled them to reconstruct their economy and society as well as to develop education at all levels.

However, a shallow understanding of the principle of equal opportunity for education caused increasing large numbers of parents to sent their children to schools of as high level as possible. School education has come to be over-emphasized.

In conclusion, for the real democratization of the education system, we need to free ourselves from an over-enthusiastic attitude towards school education. We need to give a proper place in the educational process to the home, school and society in accordance with the principle of lifelong education, and to implement the principle of recurrent education as advocated by OECD. It is pleasing to be able to say that Japanese education is now gradually moving in this direction.

APPENDICES

STATISTICAL TABLES

TABLE 1. PRIMARY SCHOOL STATISTICS

Year	Number of Schools	Number of Teachers			Number of Pupiles		
		Men	Women	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
1873	12,558	25,221	331	25,531	879,170	266,632	1,145,802
1875	24,303	43,867	798	44,665	1,462,059	464,067	1,926,126
1885	28,283	94,629	4,881	99,510	2,154,449	942,786	3,097,235
1895	26,631	66,368	6,814	73,182	2,435,223	1,235,122	3,670,345
1905	27,407	87,707	22,268	109,975	2,979,685	2,368,528	5,348,213
1915	25,578	117,182	45,810	162,992	3,986,549	3,468,103	7,454,652
1925	25,459	140,531	69,363	209,894	4,830,448	4,358,112	9,188,560
1935	25,799	176,959	80,732	257,691	5,923,768	5,501,860	11,425,628
1945	26,332	141,878	168,403	310,281	6,511,140	6,306,769	12,817,909
1955	26,880	183,367	159,281	342,648	6,241,337	6,025,615	12,266,952
1965	25,977	179,408	167,918	347,326	4,993,650	4,781,882	9,775,532
1975	24,652	187,826	227,213	415,039	5,308,156	5,056,699	10,364,855

TABLE 2. MIDDLE SCHOOLS (OLD SYSTEM) AND GIRLS' HIGH SCHOOLS

Year	Middle Schools			Girls' High Schools		
	Number of Schools	Number of Teachers	Number of Students	Number of Schools	Number of Teachers	Number of Students
1875	116	265	5,620	-	-	-
1885	106	1,005	14,084	9	72	616
1895	87	1,324	30,871	15	186	2,897
1905	259	5,113	104,968	100	1,561	31,918
1915	321	6,575	141,954	366	4,590	95,949
1925	502	11,748	296,791	805	12,043	301,447
1935	557	13,908	340,657	974	15,887	412,126
1945	776	21,453	639,756	1,272	28,955	875,814

TABLE 3. VOCATIONAL SCHOOLS

Year	Number of Schools	Number of Teachers	Number of Students		
			Male	Female	Total
1875	1	1	15	-	15
1885	26	102	990	-	990
1895	54	397	4,972	43	5,015
1905	270	2,633	29,889	70	29,959
1915	547	4,962	50,315	428	50,743
1925	797	10,643	152,015	19,477	171,492
1935	1,253	18,513	260,258	73,681	333,939
1945	1,743	37,515	598,183	247,314	845,497

TABLE 4. VOCATIONAL SUPPLEMENTARY SCHOOLS

Year	Number of Schools	Number of Teachers	Number of Students		
			Male	Female	Total
1894	19	26	872	245	1,117
1895	55	71	2,555	772	3,327
1905	2,746	1,272	96,449	25,053	121,502
1915	8,908	2,815	408,577	89,601	498,178
1925	15,316	9,821	726,667	324,770	1,051,437
1935	16,678	68,179	1,340,845	561,312	1,902,157
1945	12,409	81,327	1,644,831	962,159	2,606,990

Note: (a) Since the table includes only full-time teachers, the figures for 1905 and 1915 do in fact show more schools than full-time teachers.

(b) After 1935, the schools were renamed Seinen Gakko (youth schools).

TABLE 5. LOWER SECONDARY SCHOOLS

Year	Number of Schools	Number of Teachers			Number of Students		
		Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
1947	15,778	136,634	40,026	176,660	2,241,856	2,081,654	4,323,510
1950	14,165	146,810	45,687	192,497	2,704,697	2,627,818	5,332,515
1955	13,767	159,827	49,114	208,941	2,981,399	2,902,293	5,883,692
1960	12,985	168,038	48,779	216,817	3,008,939	2,891,034	5,899,973
1965	12,079	183,643	64,570	248,213	3,039,070	2,917,560	5,956,630
1970	11,040	171,363	64,255	235,618	2,408,896	2,307,937	4,716,833
1975	10,751	165,793	69,039	234,832	2,434,613	2,327,831	4,762,444

TABLE 6. UPPER SECONDARY SCHOOLS

Year	Number of Schools	Number of Teachers			Number of Students		
		Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
1948	3,575	70,967	15,116	86,083	744,419	459,544	1,203,963
1950	4,292	81,981	19,014	100,995	1,202,370	732,748	1,935,118
1955	4,607	106,045	24,393	130,438	1,496,814	1,095,187	2,592,001
1960	4,598	125,363	28,449	153,812	1,756,205	1,483,211	3,239,416
1965	4,849	183,319	41,260	224,579	2,661,409	2,412,473	5,073,882
1970	4,798	189,703	42,300	232,003	2,153,216	2,078,326	4,231,542
1975	4,946	184,781	37,952	222,733	2,185,053	2,147,666	4,332,719

TABLE 7. HIGHER SCHOOLS (OLD SYSTEM) AND COLLEGES OF SPECIALIZED EDUCATION

Year	Higher Schools			Colleges				
	Number of Schools	Number of Teachers	Number of Students	Number of Schools	Number of Teachers	Number of Students		
						Male	Female	Total
1875	-	-	-	110	489	7,171	438	7,609
1885	1	45	964	75	541	9,705	105	9,810
1895	7	275	4,289	52	746	8,651	66	8,717
1905	8	284	4,904	63	2,113	28,263	1,232	29,495
1915	8	365	6,259	88	2,864	37,078	1,387	38,465
1925	29	1,163	16,858	135	5,213	59,497	7,779	67,276
1935	32	1,435	17,898	177	7,948	80,255	16,225	96,480
1945	33	1,337	21,687	309	12,060	-	-	212,950

TABLE 8. UNIVERSITIES (OLD SYSTEM)

Year	No. of Univer-sities	No. of Teaching Staff	Number of Students		
			Male	Female	Total
1877	1	91	1,750	-	1,750
1885	2	196	1,720	-	1,720
1895	1	161	1,620	-	1,620
1905	2	404	5,821	-	5,821
1915	4	895	9,693	3	9,696
1925	34	4,219	46,666	24	46,690
1935	45	6,484	71,429	178	71,607
1945	48	6,688	98,825	-	98,825

TABLE 9. UNIVERSITIES

Year	No. of Univer-sities	No. of Teaching Staff	Number of Students		
			Male	Female	Total
1950	201	19,332	205,285	16,759	224,923
1955	228	51,769	441,140	62,564	523,355
1960	245	61,021	518,813	82,651	626,421
1965	317	83,204	748,905	146,560	937,556
1970	382	118,971	1,100,352	244,006	1,406,521
1975	420	89,648	1,365,824	368,258	1,734,082

TABLE 10. JUNIOR COLLEGES AND TECHNICAL COLLEGES

Junior Colleges

Year	Number of Colleges	No. of Teaching Staff	Number of Students		
			Male	Female	Total
1950	149	4,551	9,220	5,878	15,098
1955	264	12,200	35,824	42,061	77,885
1960	280	13,651	27,100	56,357	83,457
1965	369	20,451	37,175	110,388	147,563
1970	479	32,764	45,551	217,668	263,219
1975	513	36,071	48,658	305,126	353,784

Technical Colleges

Year	Number of Colleges	No. of Teaching Staff	Number of Students		
			Male	Female	Total
1950	-	-	-	-	-
1955	-	-	-	-	-
1960	-	-	-	-	-
1965	54	2,055	21,861	347	22,208
1970	60	5,120	43,641	673	44,314
1975	65	5,758	47,219	736	47,955

Note: Technical colleges are institutions which combine 3 year high school education and that of junior colleges.

TABLE 11. NORMAL SCHOOLS

Year	Number of Schools	No. of Teaching Staff	Number of Students		
			Male	Female	Total
1874	46	235	4,410	74	4,484
1875	82	527	6,804	33	6,837
1885	56	701	6,559	918	7,477
1895	47	678	6,583	759	7,342
1905	66	1,091	14,306	4,618	18,924
1915	92	1,696	18,408	8,675	27,083
1925	99	2,383	30,649	14,891	45,540
1935	102	2,283	19,396	10,429	29,825
1945	56	3,631	38,536	17,725	56,261

TABLE 12. HIGHER NORMAL SCHOOLS

Year	Number of Schools	No. of Teaching Staff	Number of Students		
			Male	Female	Total
1873	3	24	-	-	117
1875	5	61	785	74	859
1885	1	52	200	87	287
1895	2	49	203	100	303
1905	3	162	960	361	1,321
1915	4	222	1,062	693	1,755
1925	4	306	1,756	888	2,644
1935	4	325	1,787	871	2,658
1945	7	374	3,171	1,362	4,533

TABLE 13. INSTITUTIONS FOR TEACHER TRAINING

Year	Number of Schools	No. of Teaching Staff	Number of Students		
			Male	Female	Total
1879	1	5	-	-	20
1884	2	17	-	-	84
1895	1	9	-	-	82
1905	8	30	-	-	329
1915	4	18	177	181	358
1925	55	368	2,162	419	2,581
1935	50	138	1,407	129	1,536
1945	79	2,110	12,691	2,703	15,394

TABLE 14. EDUCATION FOR HANDICAPPED CHILDREN

Year	Number of Schools	No. of Teaching Staff	Number of Students		
			Male	Female	Total
1876	1	1	17	1	18
1885	3	24	131	67	198
1895	4	24	157	72	229
1905	26	138	958	475	1,433
1915	71	455	2,153	920	3,073
1925	113	718	3,796	1,920	5,716
1935	140	1,289	6,463	3,821	10,284
1945	136	1,626	7,852	5,412	13,264
1955	181	5,099	15,774	12,368	28,142
1965	335	8,994	24,493	19,823	44,316
1975	578	20,098	-	-	63,548

TABLE 15. MISCELLANEOUS SCHOOLS

Year	Number of Schools	Number of Teachers	Number of Students		
			Male	Female	Total
1876	115	129	-	-	2,333
1885	1,448	2,488	53,622	9,344	62,966
1895	1,250	3,250	48,812	16,136	64,948
1905	2,018	6,754	59,669	73,623	133,292
1915	2,479	8,275	72,270	96,866	169,136
1925	1,763	13,116	114,977	120,962	235,939
1935	1,808	16,152	89,806	112,780	202,586
1945	507	6,853	34,807	46,415	81,222
1955	7,305	49,388	194,530	763,762	958,292
1965	7,837	87,253	376,502	1,007,210	1,383,712
1974	7,999	113,937	434,174	777,392	1,211,566

TABLE 16.

RATES OF ENROLMENT - COMPULSORY EDUCATION (%)

Year	Average	Male	Female
	%	%	%
1875	35.2	50.5	18.6
1885	49.6	65.8	32.1
1895	61.2	76.7	44.0
1905	95.6	97.7	93.3
1915	98.5	98.9	98.0
1925	99.4	99.5	99.4
1935	99.6	99.6	99.6
1945	99.8	99.8	99.8
1955	99.8	99.8	99.8
1965	99.8	99.8	99.8

TABLE 17.

RATES OF ENROLMENT (%)

Year	Secondary Education		Higher Education	
	Rates	Age (year)	Rates	Age (year)
	%		%	
1875	0.7	14 - 16	0.4	17 - 20
1885	0.8	12 - 15	0.4	16 - 20
1895	1.1	12 - 16	0.3	17 - 22
1905	4.3	12 - 16	0.9	17 - 22
1915	19.9	12 - 16	1.0	17 - 22
1925	32.3	12 - 16	2.5	17 - 21
1935	39.7	12 - 16	3.0	17 - 21
1947	61.7	12 - 16	5.8	18 - 21
1960	80.0	12 - 17	10.2	18 - 21

TABLE 18. EDUCATIONAL EXPENDITURE AND NATIONAL INCOME

Year	Educational Expenditure (A)	National Income (B)	$\frac{A}{B} \times 100$	Population
	(Billion yen)	(Billion yen)	(%)	(Thousand)
1885	0.01	0.61	1.8	37,245
1895	0.01	1.20	1.2	41,789
1905	0.04	2.17	2.0	46,257
1915	0.09	3.81	2.5	52,500
1925	0.47	13.06	3.6	59,737
1935	0.56	15.20	3.7	69,254
1950	173.94	3,381.50	5.1	83,200
1960	752.21	13,009.10	5.8	93,419
1965	1,788.20	25,066.80	7.1	98,275

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Members: Messrs. Katsuya Narita
Hideo Sato
Tadashi Uchida
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